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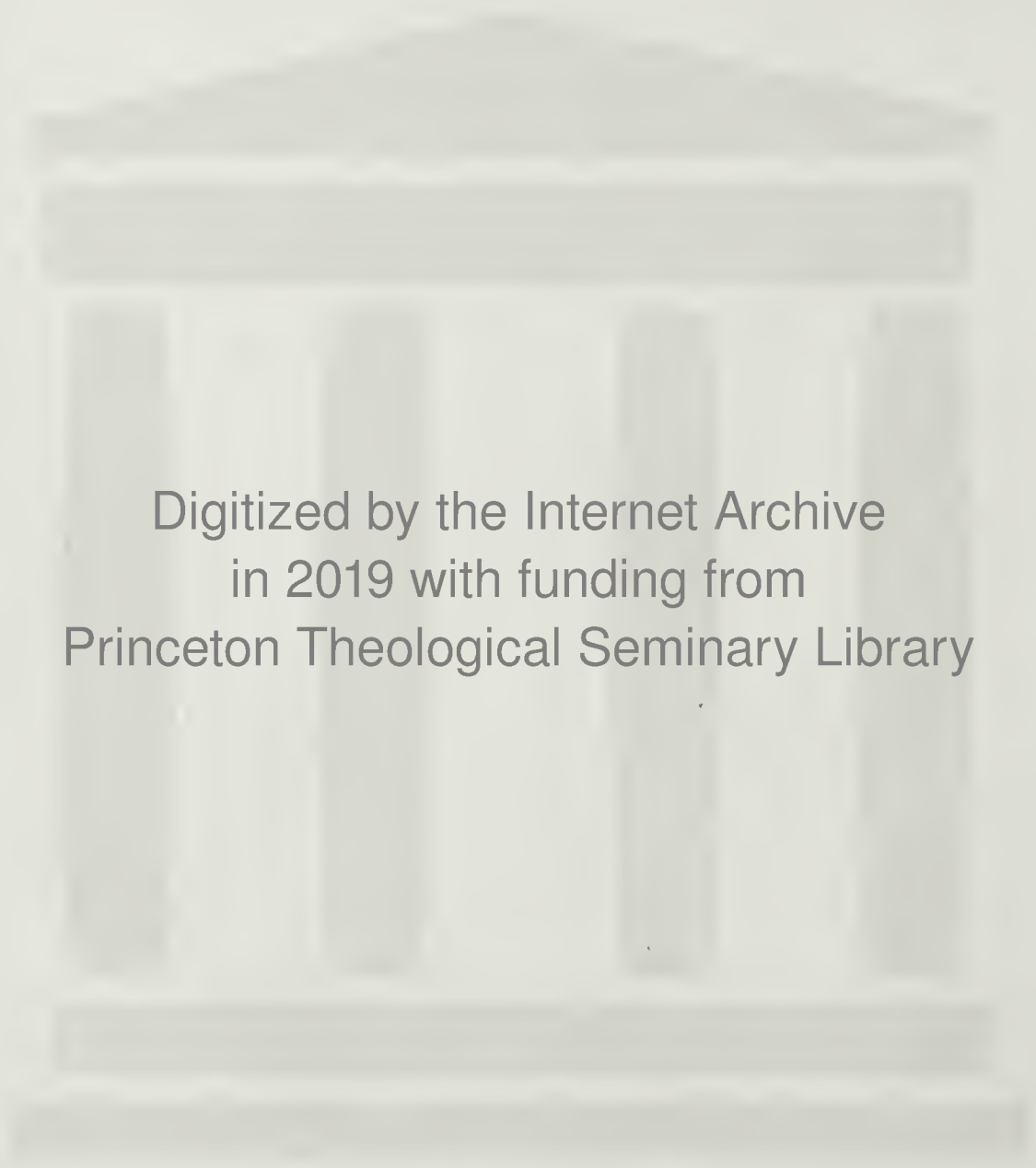












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# THE CHRISTIAN KNIGHT Compiled,

BY SIR WILLIAM  
WISEMAN Knight,  
FOR THE PVBLIKE  
WEALE AND HAPPI-  
nesse of England, Scotland,  
and Ireland.

*Robert Wiseman, a volunteer of this family, was killed at the siege of Buda.*

*The Wiseman family was of Somerset - killed in 1794.*  
EPHES. 6.  
*Induite vos armaturam Dei.*  
*Charles Nice Davies 1826.*

*William Fitz*



# THE CHRISTIAN

KNIGHT

Companion

MAILLIV 10275

WILLIAM

FOR THE BIBLE

AND THE

CHRIST







## Good Reader,



I haue heard of a discourse the other yeare, betweene two Frenchmen, the one a Souldier, the other a Ciuilian, against the vices of their times, and country. The Souldier was the Duke de Mercury, a right noble, and valerous Captaine, late Lieftenant generall to the Emperour, against the Turk in Hungarie, and yet a great enemy to Duells. The Ciuilian was a Companion of his, and undertooke against coueting, as it appeares by the Preamble following. And I am sorie wee haue no more of theirs, but the Preamble; since the times, and vices be as well ours as theirs. What the rest of their method was, I haue not seene, but by the qualitie of their persons, & by their learning we may imagine. The argument could not be but profitable, and I set downe, what I thinke probable to come neerest their meaning, and the good of our nation; and I speake English to English. For heere is first set up the marke, or white, which wee must all shoote at, and is done in two Orations Paranæticall to heauen-ward, The one shewing vs our way thither, The other our happines, when we come there. Here are secondly discouered two potent impediments in our way, that hinder our sight, and leuell: and these are our Irascible, and Concupiscible parts. The abuse whereof is touched in two Charges; the one shewing the iniustice of Duell: the other our common iniustice in buying, and selling, and neglect of common good. And lastly, here be two Homages, or thank-giuings to God.



## The Epistle.

The one of a Soule truely conuerted, the other of one proceeding in his grace, with signes of both. There be many things here delightful to be thought of, nothing hard to be done, and wee shall blame our selues most desperately, if we haue not done. Read therefore I beseech thee, and make use of It; which if thou doe, thou wilt finde much comfort; and if all doe, they will make as flourishing a common-wealth as euer was. There will scarce be any poore in it, or any vnquietnes. Kings will glorie in their Subiects, and Subiects in their Soueraigne, and all in each other, as it is in  
Heauen.

Farewell.







# THE DVKE.



After the ceasing of our Turkish warres and twenty yeares peace concluded with *Acmath* king of Turkie 1608. our faces were all turned homeward, and my voluntaries not a few were impatient of idlenesse, seeking to bee dismissed for some other imployment. They had followed mee indeede many hundred miles out of France ; for which I was not onely willing to listen to them, but also ready to gratifie them in some sort, with a finall testimony of my loue vpon our parting. I sent therefore for my Chaplaine to come to mee *Mounsieur John Faber* Licenciat in Diuinity, to be aduised by him : who as hee was a man both learned, and discreete ; so could hee best satisfie me in any thing I should desire. And when hee was come, none being with me then, but *Mr. Doctor Petroneus* my assistant, a Ciuilian of great vnderstanding, and *Lancelot Mott* my Comptroller, second of my Councell ; Sir said I to my Chaplaine, wee haue a resolution to discharge our companies, and to licence our voluntaries, which you know are many in this towne of *Vienna* : for we loose but time in these parts, our busines being now at an end. We came not hither to chase the Stagge or wilde Boare, and nothing else you see is heere to bee done. A great many of them came freely to vs, and I would send them away with honour : howbeit, while I bethinke mee of our departure hence, and of our long separation that will bee, hauing beene heretofore so long accustomed together ; I remember the saying of Christ, and I am touched with some part of his compas-



Mark. 8.

sion, saying, *misereor super turbam*, & so say I in my affection  
 towards them, that I haue pitie ouer my company : and as  
 Christ thereupon did feed their bodies miraculously ; so these  
 that haue no corporall need, I would they were spiritually  
 fed before their going ; that aboue all things in these dan-  
 gerous times they may not faint in their way to heauen, &  
 may be profitable in their countries where they are to goe.  
 They are to me as children, & I know we shal not part asun-  
 der, without teares on both sides. I would haue them to doe  
 well, & some instructions I wish they had with them, such as  
 your selfe thinkes best. Both is your authority among them  
 such as they will easily belecue you ; and your learning and  
 Methode such, as they will delight to heare you, and beare  
 it in mind. I haue beene often bold with you, as my inward  
 friend, yet neuer so bold as to giue you your text. Neither  
 will, onely thus much, I would entreate you against the  
 feast following, which is now at hand, that ye will be rea-  
 dy to say somewhat against the enormities of our countrey  
 by *anger*, and *auarice*. The one proper to men of warre, the  
 other to men of peace : yet both too much vsed by both, and  
 haue made our Country ill spoken of, and disioyned many  
 families with ciuill dissention. I am well aduised what I  
 speake. There be in this citty diuers that may doe much in  
 their countrey by their good example, and I doubt not will  
 come to such preferment there, as may amend many mat-  
 ters that are much amisse. Our single challenge and com-  
 bats there, are growne so common, and vpon so slight oc-  
 casions, fise thousand haue bene slaine vpon it in France a-  
 lone within these twenty yeares, and so many pardons of  
 record to be seene for it at this day : and againe, our  
 grating is so extreame vpon the poorer sort, that I know  
 not what will come of it in the end, but the ruine of vs all.  
 The commons will be glad of the least quarrell against the  
 rich, and daily factions betweene families will lay vs open  
 to any potent enemy to doe vs wrong. But what should I  
 speake thus to you, who know it as well as I. There bee  
 those that come to see vs euery day, right worthy persons,  
 and great friends ; but when they come home, they will bee  
 enemies



enemies I feare me ; if they haue not some warning, and be  
 not stored with the greater grace. Of the two vices I speak  
 of, I know not which is the cause of most iniustice : well I  
 am assured, none doth iustice in the heate of anger, or co-  
 ueting, more angry sometimes for a small matter then a  
 great ; will kill a man for speaking of a word amisse , and  
 will spare a man that pickes his purse ; will not spend three  
 pence vpon a poore body, and will haue hundreds in store to  
 circumuent a poore gentleman. All the world is misled with  
 these two vices, and were it not for these two, there would  
 neede no Officers in a kingdome. I know no sinne almost,  
 but one of these is, I will not say the causer, but the very in-  
 forcer of it. Giue them I pray some effectuall warning of  
 these, that their corporall fight may so match with their  
 spirituall, as they may not perish for want of instruction.  
 Wherunto my Chaplaine: Sir said he, your excellencie hath  
 propounded very well, and your zeale no doubt proceedeth  
 from heavenly grace. I shall not be wanting on my part  
 to doe God and you seruice, and the fruites of your desire  
 shall be the performance of my vttermost. But by your  
 graces fauour, since it hath pleased you to participate thus  
 much of your minde vnto me, which belongeth specially to  
 my charge to be answerable vnto, yea forwarder to accom-  
 plish so pious a request, then you to propose : you haue gi-  
 uen me bouldnes in this, to impart vnto you also my opini-  
 on, what I thinke best, and will be most fruitfull, if it shall  
 please you to conceiue so. I will prepare my selfe ( God  
 willing ) against your day, though it cost me two daies in  
 respect of my weaknes ; not hauing yet recovered perfectly  
 the blowe of a Halbard, that beat my Target to my head,  
 and one of my sides to the ground, which so impaired my  
 strength, that I cannot speake much at a time. By Gods  
 grace I shall set them in a ready way to heauen : but for me  
 to discourse of *Duellum*; where occasion will be to speake of  
 honour, and armes, it little belongeth to my profession, but  
 more a great deale to men of honour, and approued valour,  
 such as you are. For although where men make conscience  
 of any thing, and resort to me in priuate for my opinion, I



shall be furnished I hope to resolute them: yet will it be little esteemed from one of our sort, to speake all that such discourse will require. They that contemne Christ in such a busines, will sooner contemne his seruants. Wee that be Cleargie men are accompted cowards, and dastards, as I heard a knight say once of a Bishop who had beene his Lord, and Master: he commended him for his vertues, and wisedome; saue only that he was a Coward, for putting vp  
 || so easily a boxe on the eare from a Duke, and following his masters steppes the Sauour of the world. Truth is truth out of any mans mouth, and yet more aptly deliuered by one, then by another. When we perswade in such a matter, they tell vs we be *Priests*, and speake like our selues, and are very  
 || simply conceited of vs whatsoeuer we say; yea when they be driuen to say with vs, they thinke against vs, and doe what they list, *Maius peccatum habent*. I speake not this to flye the burthen of telling truth, whether it edifie or not: at their perill be it, if they receiue not the seede that is sowne in their hearts. But Sir, it would best become your selfe such a burthen as this, who are both a *Souldier* and a *Scholler*: we were both brought vp at a time, and students in the *Sorbone*. The eies of all men were vpon you euen then, to see honour and learning so vnmatchable in your person; a perfect vnderstander of that you heard and read, and a perfect deliuerer of that you vnderstood. You were but young, when you had passed your courses of Philosophie, and moralitie: and when your ripenes was readie for the haruest, our common-wealth, had the reaping of your best fruites in the greatest employments both at home, and abroad. Thinke it not much to heare a little of your praise. I haue done before I haue begun. I haue heard you speake very well at your board of many points concerning this controuersie. I know none can speake better then your selfe of it, if it would please you to appoint a time, and to bestowe an houre or two that way: with this, my Comptroler applauded it exceedingly, and though your Chaplin, said he, might doe it very well, and can doe much in that company to perswade, yet none more fit then your selfe, a Christian Soul-  
 dier



dier amongst Christian Souldiers and much more piercing it would be in their hearts, to heare so noble a sword-man to speake against the sword, or *Mars* himselfe to speake against combate, whose honour is in fight: well said I, ye will perswade me anon to preach too: I will be aduised. But what say you to the other matter, which was *Auarice*: that, I hope you will speake of. No truely Sir said my Chaplaine, if it please Mr. Assistant to vndergoe that charge: who is both learned in our lawes, and of great estate himselfe, and and euery way fittest, except his trouble. Not I Sir (truely said he.) I thought as much, this is not the first time you haue glanced at mee: they be matters of conscience, and consequence, that must bee handled therein; and are fittest for your charge. I pray do you your duty as my Lord hath mooued, and let me heare no more of this: I am no Preacher. Yee shall both command mee, (said my Chaplaine) and I will not faile of my duty, if ye will haue it so: I doe but propound what I know, and am well assured would be best. The sinne of *Auarice* ye speake of, is crept so farre into the Cleargie, that our hearers bidde vs amend our selues first, before wee preach amendment to others; and they giue vs a very deafe eare, whatsoeuer wee tell them vpon this Theame. To be a Preacher belongs not to your vocation: yet euery one ought to bee a Preacher if God Almighty bidde speake: yea to shunne this charge when it may do good, is to blush at the Gospell. And who can speake more freely of this then you, who are furnished with all that nature and art can affoord? who of your sort better seene in Scripture or history then you? who better acquainted with the Common Law, or Ciuill then you, hauing alwayes professed the one of them to your great commendation? who more nobly discended for a gentleman, better stated for land and offices, or that hath a more worthy offspring to prouide for then you? and if it were lawfull in any to be couetous, it were truely lawfull in you; that haue so great a charge to care for, and feede so many mouthes: pretence of neede, or feare of neede, makes many couetous, and there is a kinde of neede that attends the greatest. And



therefore for a man of your qualitie not to bee couetous, who hath no end of expences ; or to speake against couetousnesse, which is want to maintaine greatnesse ; would be as rare to heare, as imitable for example. The world wants many such as you, that can as well speake as doe. And although these Robes and Veluet gowne will not become a Pulpit, yet fit enough if it please my Lord for a great chamber. There bee many that giue the charge at a Sessions, not better furnished then you for the peoples edifying : and it is no more but a charge that is required of you, although it bee in matters of much greater importance, and that touch more neerely the inward reformation: neither speake I this to ease me of a burthen (as I said before) who am born for burthens : for as *David* saith, God hath laide his people vpon our necks ; and yet if such a one as you can doe more with a word, then wee with ten, (pardon mee Sir I beseech you) I know not how you will bee excused. But I say no more, your will shall be done. Well Sir saide my Afsistant, since you bee in good earnest, you shall not take offence at me : but what if I deceiue your expectation, and shall not performe so well, as the matter importeth. Surely Sir, saide my Comptroler, that was not wont to bee your fault ; and for my owne part, I must say what I thinke : I had rather heare but halfe from my Lord and you, concerning these matters, then the whole matter from another : for both in the one case, my Lord being a man of Sword and honour, it is not like but hee will respect what hee may the honour of gentlemen vpon falling out : so on the other side, your selfe beeing also noble, and of great expence, who must haue much comming in to beare your charge ; there is none will feare, or doubt partiality in you, to speake against coueting or keeping, more then you must needes : but rather will extend your selfe as farre as you may, and your learning will giue leaue. Spirituall men speake learnedly of their matters, and whatsoeuer yee bring vs, I suppose yee fetch it from their groundes : but if the temporall also, and men of action concurre with the same, as I know not well yet whether they doe or no ; and I would gladly learne :

surely

surely this will make a double barre against all impugn-  
 ers, that the euill disposed will not haue a word to say, wee haue  
 a ghesse sufficient what our Prelates will say. But since  
 the motion hath beene made, and to my seeming very fit-  
 ly : I should bee a petitioner to you both, and many more  
 yee shall haue if neede bee, that it may bee so. Wee are  
 true *Israe'lites*, that had rather heare *Moses* speake then God Exod. 20. 19  
 almighty : whereat, when wee had laughed a little while ;  
 It is not vnusuall with mee said I, to speake to my fellowes  
 and followers ; and yet it is more then I dare promise you,  
 neither will, vnlesse my Afsistant doe as much : I will take  
 a pawsing time, and if I can thinke of any thing worth your  
 hearing, you shall know : and my Afsistant vndertooke in  
 like manner. And so beeing ready to depart, I tolde them  
 that for teaching I would not intermeddle, but leaue them  
 wholly to their Pastours ; whom I would exhort what I  
 could, to beleue and follow in all such matters as I should  
 giue them in charge ; and but a charge I would make of it.  
 No more shall I (said my Afsistant.) And my charge my  
 Lord (said my Comptroler) shall be to put your Excellency  
 to charge for the time, and to bidde them all welcome with  
 the best cheere wee can make them. This was the end of  
 our Parlance, and when the times came, we performed  
 accordingly : whereof I haue heere set downe the  
 dead letters ; but whosoever had heard my  
 Chaplaine, would haue loued the world the  
 worse as long as they liued. My Afsi-  
 stant likewise deliuered it with much  
 grace, and grauity : and my selfe  
 did my good will. My  
 Chaplaine began  
 as followeth.







# THE CHAPLAINE vpon Panis Viatorum.

## THE FIRST ORATION.



Ight honourable, worshipfull, and well beloued, yee are come hither (I perceiue) to heare somewhat for your edification: but I feare mee, you shall finde a souldier of mee, rather then a diuine. for so my many years employment in the campe hath made me; beeing a place of all others vnfit for study, and a mortall enemy to Muses. My scarres ye see make mention of some wounds, and my blood hath testified my loue to you, that haue seldome failed to beare you company in your thickest perills, with target in one hand, and my booke in the other. I haue assisted many a gasping spirit in their *agony to heauen-ward*; where I doubt not now, but they see, and sit with God for euer and euer: and you, whom his heavenly prouidence hath reserved from slaughter, hee hath preserved (ye must thinke) for his further seruice: if your sword rust, yet your action may not, which must euermore bee doing, and working of your weale: ye haue peace now, and ye haue put vp your weapons; what then? peace giues rest to temporall, and not to spirituall fight, we may neuer stand still in our way to heauen: and thither I was wished to exhort you to day by one, whose authority I may in no wise decline. I will do my best (God willing) to set you in your way; and in your way I



will leaue you : it will be no new matter I shall tell you, but what ye haue euery day cause to thinke of, and are able to teach others. Your yeares and daies haue beene long time neere death, as neere as Canon shotte ; and daily death before your eies hath beene enough to mortifie you, and hasten you to another world. I shall not therefore be ouer tedious to you, that are so well prepared already: neither will I dazell your vnderstanding with darke matters, nor weary your wittes with points of learning ; but onely admonish you, what encounters ye are like to haue, and what glory will attend you, if ye be conquerours. This will be the last time wee shall all meete thus ; and if I shall any thing say worth your hearing , I beseech you also let it be worth your following.

*Quare appenditis argentum non in panibus, et laborem vestrum non in saturitate. Esay 55.*

Intending therefore to exhort you , or rather to hasten you in your way to heauen: I thought it fitte to lay before you the saying of *Esay* the Prophet. *Why spend ye siluer* (saith he) *and not in breads ? your labour and not in saturity ?* A short speach, but full of mistery : why spend yee siluer and not in bread , your labour and not in saturity or fulnesse ? we will speake first of the first part , and afterwards of the second: & as touching the first part, it is well enough known there is nothing more needful for the sustentatiō of man, the bread. It is that we pray for in our *Pater noster*, as the needfullest foode, and most vniuersall that is : kings themselues cannot be without it ; and the poorest haue it, though they haue nothing else : euery body loueth it ; no one dish, that euery body loueth ; yet euery one loues bread. And besides the loue we all haue to it , God hath giuen it this prerogative, that, as it is most necessary, so is it best cheape , and easiest to come by. And therefore most iustly the Prophet cries out, saying ; why spend yee siluer and not in bread ? as who should say ; why spend ye money vpon trifles, your patrimony vpon pastimes, and all the meanes you haue vpon merriments, and are content to sit a hungred for them?

But



But what I pray you is this siluer, that men spend in this idle sort? all that a man hath or can possesse in this world, may be drawne to two heads: the one is time, which how precious it is I neede not tell, but if it were ten times more, it were all too little to spend in our way to heauen. The other is our goods (that is to say) all we haue; whether they be of minde, as reason, witte, will, memory, learning, and such like; or of body, health, strength, actiuity, prowesse, eloquence, or of outward fortunes, as riches, honour, pleasures, and the like; all which is heere called *Siluer*, as in heauen all is gold. And this is the siluer the holy Prophet Apoc. 21. speaketh of, when he asketh vs this question after a manner of increpation, or in chiding sort, saying: why spend yee all these things and not in bread?

But holy Prophet of God, shall I aske thee a question? didst thou euer know any that spent much, and cared not how much, and that much of it was not in bread? could hee liue without eating? did he not feast and make merry? and could this be done without bread? which if thou canst not deny; why doest thou say they spend, and not in bread? I acknowledge thee Gods Prophet, and vpon this infallible word by thee deliuered I must build to day: thy thought must bee my theame, thy spirit my text as neere as I can. *Bread* was therefore heere but an allegory, or figuratiue speech, and by it is meant the bread of life, or bread of the soule; as appeareth by that which followeth tending all to the soule, and not to the body, where hee saith soone after, *Hearing, heare me, and eate that is good*, and your soule, hee saith, not your body shall bee delighted with fatnesse. And againe; *giue eare, and come to me, heare me, and your soule* (he saith not your body) shall liue, and I will make an euerlasting league with you. The bread of the soule therefore is the bread hee speakes of, and this onely bread is intended heere; the bread that nourisheth vs, the bread that strengtheneth vs; is not to sinne, and perdition, but to heauen and happinesse. This is the bread I say the prophet speaketh of, and no man cares for; lets it lye moulding by him, and buyeth it not; is daily offered him, and hee daily re-



fuseth it; yea scornes the offerer or bringer of it for the most part.

But let vs enter a little further into the matter I beseech you, to find what this bread is, that wee may buy thereof, since it seemeth so necessary. Truly it is not hard to finde, if we would but contemplate our neede: if our bodies were hungrie, wee should know how to seeke, and where to buy: we forget not our dinner or supper, though stomacke we haue none; the time of the day will remember vs of it: and shall not our vprising then, and downelying put vs in mind of our soules food for our spirituall good, and life euerlasting? Let vs stirre vp our zeale a little, and marke what this bread is, and what the worth of it. *Open* your hands and vnfolde your armes; that yee may bee ready to catch it, and hold it when you haue it.

This bread right worthy, is in two kinds answerable to our estates or liues in this world, and the world to come. And therefore he calleth it breads, not bread: the one sort of bread for distinctions sake, I call the bread of trauellers, *Panem viatorum*: the other *Panem angelorum*, the bread of Angels: which latter name, although it bee applied sometimes in the first sence, yet in this place for my better method, and your better remembrance, I will distinguish from the other; and confine it onely to our estate in heauen, and to our food there. The first bread is that our soules doe feede on, while it is in *Via* in the way to heauen. And therefore I call it *Panem viatorum*; as Saint *Chrysostome* calls our life heere *Figuram viatorum*: The other is that it feeds on in the end of the way, when it comes to heauen, and must liue for euer. Of this last I shall speake last in time conuenient; of the first I shall speake first, and shall resemble it to the *Shew bread*, or bread of *Proposition*, that was giuen to *Dauid* to eate of, when he had beene weary and hungry, and was pursued by his enemies: and it was such as he might not eate, but with cleanness of body, as the Scripture declareth.

For the better vnderstanding whereof, and true applying it to our selues, we must know also that three speciall things  
are

Psal. 77.

Hom. 60. in

Math.

Psal. 101.

24.

1, Reg. 21.



are comprehended in this bread of trauellers : the one is the word of God. The second all manner of vertues, and good habits in our soules. The third is Sacraments ; all which may rightly bee called bread, and so sometimes are in holy Scripture. The word of God is called by *Christ, Patris filiorum* the bread of children. And the woman of *Canaan* calleth it the crummes that fell from the masters table. Vertues bee also called bread : sorrowe and teares for sinne is a great vertue. And holy *David* calleth it bread : my teares haue beene bread to me day and night ; and in an other place, *thou shalt feede vs with bread of teares.* Mat. 15, 16. Psal. 41. Psal. 79. Psal. 101.  
 An other vertue like to this is true mortification or penance, which is signified in Scripture by this word *Ashes.* As king *David* vseth it saying, that he eate ashes for his bread ; as who should say, that ashes were bread to him : All which things and whatsoeuer else that comforts our soule, he may seeme to call by the name of bread, when hee imputes his drinesse of spirit to nothing else, but to the neglect of it, saying, I was withered like hay, and my heart was dried vp, *Quia oblitus sum comedere panem meum,* Because I forgot to eate my bread. Psal. 101.

Lastly For Sacraments, *Omnia Sacramenta* (saith *S. Augustine*) All Sacraments that are done in vs by the ministry of Gods seruants, are meate to our bellie. And *Christ* calleth his supper by the name of *Bread* : saying, *Hee that eateth this bread shall live for euer,* and preferreth it before *Moses* his bread, saying, that *Moses* gaue not bread from heauen, but my Father (saith he) giues you true bread from heauen. Note this word *true bread* : as who should say this were not true bread which wee eate with our meate ; but rather a figuratiue bread, feeding onely the flesh : and the Sacrament the true bread that feedeth and sustaineth the soule, or principall part of man. And these three breads may well bee meant by those three loaves in the Gospell, which one came to borrow of his friend at midnight, and was importunate for. Whereupon Saint *Ambrose* asketh this question, and makes answer, *Qui sunt isti tres panes* (saith hee) *nisi cœlestis mysterij alimentum,* What bee these three loaves, but the  
Iohn 6. Luk. 11. lib. 7. in Luc.  
 C. foode;



Hom. 26. in  
Ioh.

foode of heauenly misteries. *Saint Augustine* also calles these heauenly things bread, and telles vs the sweetnesse of it, such as is able to intice and force a mans heart to the loue of it, how little soeuer the world doth esteeme it. But to our purpose.

All these three may bee rightly called the bread of Proposition, as I saide; beeing shewne and propounded for all to buy of, and feede on, that bee yet as *Trauellers* before they come to their iournies ende. *The word of God* feedes vs with instruction: *Vertues* feede vs with imitation: *Sacraments* feede vs with grace and consolation. The word of God giues life, and motion to our soules: *Vertues* digestion: and *Sacraments* augmentation. The word of God with what reuerence it must bee handled; *Vertues* with what resolution they must bee imbraced; a *Sacrament* with what puritie it must bee receiued, I vndertake not now to teach: yee know or may know by your learned *Prelates*, to whom I remit you: onely of vertues I say thus much to you, because they are more within the compasse of your vnderstanding, and yee haue daily vse of them; that as they be many and very nourishing to your soules; so are they like flowers in your garden, oyle in your lampes, and corne to your Mill. A Mill will bee fired, and the stones fret out one another without corne in it: euen so doe our passions, they chafe vs and fret vs to nothing, if *Vertues* come not betweene. The flowers of vertue refresh and comfort the soule, and make it admirably sweete. The oyle of vertue makes the soule so bright and smoothe, that God may see his owne face in it, and acknowledge vs thereby to bee his true Image.

In particular haue wee taken away ones good name, or any thing else that is his? Let vs make a vertue of it by submission, and restitution. Are we angry at a disgrace done vs? Let vs not bee hasty of reuenge; but let vs bee glad if wee can, of such a tryall sent vs. Temperance of body, and chastity of minde, are great vertues and indeere vs to God. I may not omit humility and mildenesse, gentlenesse and affability, that makes vs the very childe, that God tooke vp  
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in his armes, and shewed him for a patterne for all the world to beholde. Fortitude or valour is likewise a singular vertue, without which almost there can bee no vertue; not humilitie nor obedience can want it, not the least passion vanquished without it: my purpose is not to reckon vp all vertues, but onely to giue instance of a fewe. In one word, yee know all of yee when yee doe ill; shunne it and amend it: yee know what is vertue also, and when ye doe well, imbrace it and feede on it, it is your soules bread; and to feede on it hard, makes a fat soule.

These bee the bread you should buy, these the things you should spend your siluer on; make a household booke, and keepe account with your selues of your laying out, and expences euery day; which if they bee not in a good conscience of some of these vertues, or bee in a bad conscience of the contrary; yee will grow behind hand quickly, and your soules will be so poore, that ye will rid no way in your poast to *Heauen-ward*. I haue read of a noble *Romane* called *Sextius*, who neuer missed night, but would call to minde what hee had done amisse that day, and if any day were that he amended nothing in, he accounted it vtterly lost; he learnt it I thinke of some seruant of God, and so may you looke on your compting booke euery night, and see what *Items* yee haue there, what chaste thoughts, and how the contraries resisted; what patience, and how anger was resisted; how iust your bargaines and contracts? how yee pray and haue God in your minde first and last? how pittifull to the poore, how heedy for swearing, how for cursing, how for ouermuch eating and drinking, idle talke, and ribaldry, all which yee may doe in him that comforts you, (as *S. Paul* saith) if you put your good wills to it. The horse that carries you, must bee your good will: if your will bee ardent and zealous, hee neuer tyers: if it bee colde, hee holdes not out a day. The winde that launcheth you through the *Ocean*, must be your good will; the winde will bee alwaies as great as your will, and your will should bee euer as great as your hunger. Oh that wee might feele our soules hunger as sensibly as our bodies hunger; wee should

Senec. lib. 3  
de ira.

Phil. 4.



then buy this heauenly bread much faster, and plye our soules oftner with these heauenly prouisions then wee doe. *Behold* the woorth of this bread our holy Prophet offers vs to buy.

But it may be, yee would gladly know why the Prophet calles these things bread, and not by some other name as well, that may be as signifying for his purpose as this word *Bread*: Surely wee shall finde in Scriptures if wee marke it, that what we eate to sustaine our bodies with, is called sometimes by the name of *Bread*, as if there were nothing else before vs to eate but *Bread*, *Exod* 3. 2. *Kings* cap. 9. and other like places; where to dine or suppe is called to eate *Bread*, and yet had they other things to eate besides bread. As wee see where *Abraham* intreated his three guests to come in and eate bread with him, and yet there was not onely bread, but hony, milke, and veale. And in the first of *Kings* where *Saul* accursed them that should eate bread that day; wee read what punishment came vpon them for *Ionathans* sake, for tasting onely of a hony-combe in his way, and touched no *Bread*. Loe heere, where hony also is vnderstood by *Bread*, as euery thing else may bee which wee eate, both for the generality, and likewise for the necessity of the foode of bread; since euery one must haue it, and nothing can bee eaten without it.

All things therefore wee see that are foode, is called *Antonomastice* by the name of *Bread*, as by the worthiest name: and so of our spirituall food, if a man should aske why our Prophet calleth it bread, and not by some other name, as why doth he not call it *Clothing*, since we cannot come there without a *wedding garment*: why doth he not call it armour or weapons *arma nostra spiritualia*: we come not to heauen without fight; neither fight wee without weapons? why doth he not call it wings, since we cannot fly without wings? why doth hee not call it a ladder as it is called in *Genesis*, to clime to heauen by? why doth he not call it *Almes-deedes* a thing so much commended in Scriptures? why calls hee it not I say by none of these, since all these be so necessary for vs? truely the reason is plaine if we marke it.



All these things that I haue reckoned, bee they neuer so fitte for vs, yet are they all without vs. *Cloathing* is for the out-side, weapons, wings, ladder, almes, or whatsoeuer els, are all on the outside of vs, and come not so neere our life, as bread doth : all other things doe no good without, vnlesse we haue bread within. Those things indeede doe furnish vs, but bread doth nourish vs ; and therefore though other things be necessary, yet bread is most necessary or necessary of necessities ; and the word is vsed by the Prophet in a *supereminent* signification ; as a man would say, this is locke and key, this is all in all, this the sinewes, this the marrow of all our good : and therefore all that *intrinsically* serueth to our euerlasting weale, bee aptly called by this word, euen this *supereminent* word *Bread*. And as all our outward operations, and actions are nothing without bread, and inward sustentation of man ; whereby he hath strength, and comfort in his doing, and can doe nothing without it : So if wee should deuise one word to call all things by, that we need, either in respect of the greatnesse of our neede, or the multiplicity of them ; wee can finde no one word or name so fitte, or so significant as this word *Bread* : and for such is vsed, and made choice of in our *Pater noster* by God himselfe : where whatsoeuer we neede or pray for almost, wee are bidden to aske it by the name of *Bread*, giue vs this day our daily bread : that is to say, as holy fathers expound it, giue vs whatsoeuer will nourish vs, either body, or soule.

Are wee to pray for patience ? we aske it heere by the name of *Bread*. Aske we sorrow for sinne ? heere it is called bread. Aske wee feruor and deuotion ? God vnderstands vs by the name of *Bread*. Aske we chastity and mortification ? he giues it vs heere by the word *bread*. Aske we comfort, aske wee charity, aske we grace, constancy, or perseuerance to the end ? all is included in this word *Bread*. All is bread, all is foode of soule, all makes it fatte, rich, faire, comely and beautifull, worthy of saluation, worthy of heauen, worthy of God. And therefore no maruell if the Prophet call these things *Bread*, since God so vnderstands them



in our daily forme of prayer; which hee gaue vs from his blessed mouth: *giue vs this day our daily bread.*

Now let no man aske me, how is patience bread? how are deuotion, charity, or any other vertue bread? this reason shall serue for all reasons, that Christ in effect hath called them so. Let vs goe buy and bestowe our money freely on it. Let vs be profuse, and prodigall vpon it: the more we spend this way, the more we haue; the more we wast, the greater our store; the more we wrestle, and exercise, the lesse weary; the faster we runne, the more in breath, as all they that prooue shall assuredly finde. And yet, if wee shall seeke a reason also why; these things, or how, or in what sence they are called *bread*; we shall not goe far for a reason to satisfie them that be curious: and it will not be vnfruitfull to vs neither, when we vnderstand it. Wee will go no further I say for a reason, then to the very nature of *bread*, and the properties thereof, as I will declare now vnto yee.

We touched in the beginning some properties of *bread*, and some others there are besides, which are also found in this *heauenly bread*: yea and much more in this, then in that. First bread feeds vs and keepes vs from perishing: so doth our heauenly bread feed vs and preserue vs from perishing eternally. I need not prooue it to you, it is well enough knowne; for as *bread* hath many alterations, before it come to make flesh; euen so it is with our ghostly *bread*. The first alteration of bread is in the mouth, by eating and chewing, the mouth of the soule is hearing, and reading. The second alteration is in the stomacke, where the meate is turned into a white substance called *Chylus*; the stomacke of the soule is deepe consideration, all pale, and astonished to thinke of the horrible danger it was in a little before. The third alteration is in the liuer, where our foode turnes to blood, and lookes redde; the liuer of the soule is shame, and confusion, blushing redde as fire, for that wee haue done wickedly. The last alteration is into flesh, and the flesh of our soule, is our good estate to God-ward; which hearing and reading, consulted vpon, consideration resolved vpon, shame kindled, and sends the blood of grace from part  
to



to part to consolidate. Grace clarifies our reason, giues life to our will, blowes courage into our heart, which is the seat of *vertues*.

The second qualitie of bread is to make purest blood. Other meates haue more mixture in them of choller, or melancholy that the blood is the worse for it, other studies, sciences, and high questions of learning though they feede the soule also; yet are they mixed lightly with elation, or emulation, as it is written, *Scientia inflat*; and therefore goe not so cleerely to the good of our soule, as our ghostly food doth. This bread our Prophet speakes of here, hath no such mixture in it: the word of God is wholly void of it, like a christall fountaine of a most fluent streame. *Vertue* were not vertue, if it endeauoured not the same: and the sacraments are the purest pipes from the side of our Sauiour, and cannot make other then purest nourishment. Will ye know what blood these make? *behold* Gods Saints from *Enoch* to the Apostles, and so downeward: wee may know their food by their complexions that were so white and redde in Gods sight according to his owne heart; the very pictures of vertue and grace: looke vpon the blood of Martyrs, how pretious it is in the sight of God, from *Abel* hitherto, and all ouer the world. The seede of man is made of the purest blood said *Pythagoras*, and God made choice of that blood, to sowe the field his Church withall in due season.

1. Cor. 8.

The 3. property of *bread* is to be loued of al: euery one loues not euery meat, yet few or none loues not bread: and so it is with our spiritual bread; euery body loues it, the very wicked loue it in a sort, though they seek it not: witnes themselves, if we aske thē. But there are 2. sorts of loue, the one fruitfull, which sinners haue not, but may haue; the other vnfruitfull, which sinners haue, & will do them no good: imperfect loue it is I grant, yet loue it is; & so much our Sauiour may seem to imply, when he said loue God withall thy heart: as who should say it is loue, and they may loue God, though they loue him not withall their whole heart: *Premium virtutis honor*, it is vertues due to be loued, and honoured, though

Mat. 22. 37



it be not alwaies imbraced. Our loue to vertue is commonly as childrens loue to bread, or I would it were but so in some; better to be but one step vp then none at all. Children will call and cry for bread, but if any thing else comes, they hide it, or cast it away. But what doe I speake of children, and those that bee sicke, or make strange of good life? they that bee whole and sound, or haue not lost all feeling, must loue the meanes of their health, and will not refuse it altogether; or if they doe, I holde their estate to be damnable.

There is yet a fourth quality or property of *bread*; which is easinesse to come by: and this accords also with our spirituall *bread*. It is easie to bee had both in respect of the meanes which euery one may haue that will, as also in respect of it selfe, that is euery where to be sold: our meanes is our money, and our money (as I said before) is our will, and thirsty desire after it: God asketh no other price of vs. Let no man complaine that he hath not where withall; our good God hath provided enough for the poorest that is, to buy a kingdom; though not enough alwayes to buy a cow. If the businesse were a money matter, the poore could not bee vertuous, nor haue share in our heauenly foode. The Gospell tels vs that where our treasure is, there is our heart: but I thinke it is true both waies; where our mind & loue is, there is our money: our loue is the best treasure, and wee may furnish our selues richly with it (if wee list) out of our owne Treasury. Haue wee no money? let vs coyne it out of our owne hearts, and wee shall finde plenty. Hee that hath least, hath a selfe to giue; and hee that hath most, can giue no more: and if wee would know who sells it vs, it is God that sells, and God is euery where to take our price: hee is at euery occasion, and at euery neede of ours, to take our money. Come occasion of sicknesse, or mischance to vs, hee is at hand to sell vs patience. Come occasion of misery, or want in our poore neighbour, hee is ready to sell vs the *Bread of pittie*. Come occasion of quarrell or falling out, he proffers vs charity, so wee drawe our purse wide enough. Bee wee fallen into temptation? hee tenders vs strength enough.

Mat 6.

S. Aug.



enough to ouercome it. Are wee in sinne? hee meetes vs presently with remorse, if wee giue him but reason for it. These and a great deale more are the holy *Bread* hee giues vs at all needes, and all assaies, and hee meetes vs mercifully at our owne doore with all; wee neede not send so farre for it, as to the next market towne: and thus much for the fourth property.

Now to these I could adde a fift; and that is such a one, as a man would thinke were ill, yet is not ill, but onely with euill vsing it. There is no surfet so hurtfull to our body, as that of *Bread*, *Omnis Saturatio mala, panis autem pessima*. If the stomacke bee charged with any thing else but bread, it will recoyle and put it vp. Bread not so, but lyes clumping together like lead, neither digesting it selfe, nor suffering other thing to digest. And this is also manifest in our *Bread* of life; where pride or wearinesse beares downe our heart, and plunges it in time into the pit of *Apostacy*. Begins with zeale, and ends with coldenesse: begins with too much, and ends with too little: begins hotly, and hath not grace to holde out. Was *incrassatus, & dilectus*, and at length *recalcitravit*, Deut. 32. presumes in owne strength, and turnes vp the heele against God, and all goodnesse. Physitians say the finer the bread is, the more dangerous is the surfet. And euen so it is with heauenly foode, by our owne peruersenesse. And therefore this made *Angels Diuels* when they fell once, this lost *Saul* a kingdome, ouerthrew *Salomon*, and a multitude since to our very dayes, without all remedy and cure. How many doe we know in the world, that knew Gods will, and were in good practise of it, yet now are giuen ouer and left to themselues. They left off first one good exercise, then another; and by little and little all, or very neere all: time and temptation brought them to it, and wearinesse of well doing. And this exceeds all other kinde of sinne, that happily may finde remedy when the passion is once ouer. This passion is neuer ouer, lyes heauy on the stomacke like dough: will neither voide vpward at the mouth, since they cannot forget what they haue heard and read; nor concoct in the liuer, since shame is gone that should giue it colour

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and entertainment. Set all the *Aqua-vita* before them that is in the Gospell; they tooke a surfet of it once, and now will doe them no good. Set *Rosa-solis* before them, or waters of hottest spirit, all is in vaine: these were so lately their common drinke, that now at a neede, it will not warme their heart. They are growne to very *insensibility* by their owne pertinacity, and if God touch them not extraordinarily, they are past all recouery.

But by all these properties of bread, yee see now by reason, as before by authority, how fitly our heavenly foode is here called *Bread* by our holy Prophet. And our speech hath not bin onely of words and tearmes, but also of effects, and substance, and true woorth of it indeede. For first it nourisheth our soule as *Bread* doth our body. Secondly, it makes the purest blood, euen the blood of Martyrs and Saints. Thirdly, how it is loued of all that loue themselves as they should do, and giues honour to the possessours of it. Fourthly, how good cheape we come to it, *venite, emite absq<sup>3</sup> argento* saith our Prophet in the same place: come and buy without money all ye that will buy; & almost euery occasiō (we meet withall) sels it vs. Lastly, wee see how dangerous it is, and how ill fauoured wee looke in Gods sight, if wee leaue this dyet, and content our selues with worse. Wee grewe fatte and fedde daintily at his table, and if a fatte man fall, hee hath much adoe to rise againe. By all which wee may see as in a glasse, what manner of thing this heavenly foode is wee flye from daily, and list not buy. Foode I say in word, foode in worth; a worth not to bee valued by the worthiest things in the world; not by diamonds, nor yet by a diadem, and a whole diadem were well giuen for it, if it could not bee had without. All the world is so base and vile to it, that all together will not buy the least peece of true vertue.

And therefore amongst other our spirituall breads afore-said, that nourish, feede, and beautifie our soule: I may not omit to commend vnto you heere most especially and particularly our *Sacramentall bread*, the body and blood of Christ, which hee gaue and spilt on the crosse for the life of the world; and which it may bee was principally intended by  
our

Esay 55.

Ioh. 6.



our holy Prophet in this place. And I doe not commend it to you now for the praise of it, but for the the vse of it; the one beeing beyond my power to performe worthily; the other beeing in your power to practise profitably: ye haue price enough in your purses, as I tolde you, and I would wish you to buy of it often. Let not once a yeare content you, which the Church doth binde ye to. once a moneth in act, and euery day in desire, is little enough for those, that know the sweete of it. Little enough I say if wee haue a liuely faith, and haue tasted how good it is.

But woe bee to vs. Wee apprehend it not, and therefore wee buy it no faster. Wee feele not the operation of it, and therefore wee neglect it. It is to bee lamented with many teares, how carelesse wee bee and almost insensible in this point, as will soone bee seene by vs, if wee take not heede betimes. Wee are like to a sea wall, that must bee alwaies repaying; which if wee be not by this holy Sacrament, we shall goe euery day decaying further from heauen; euery gust of winde, and sea will make a breach vpon vs, and euery little temptation will surround vs. It is Gods worke to repaire vs, and not mans. And if wee will bee vertuous by our selues, or honest of our selues, and thinke a Sacrament but an idle ceremony; the next newes will bee of vs, that we haue neither vertue at all in vs, nor scarce *common honestie*. All that be faithfull know what they receiue, but all take not delight in it, because they know not the benefit of it: yea more then this, let vs call and cry to them neuer so loude, that they will taste often of it, and try the good of it, as they will doe by some thing which is hard, or harsh enough to them at the first, but with vse made pleasing: yet in this *heauenly Bread* they will not doe it, nor force themselues a whit to loue it, because it pleaseth not sense.

This noble Sacrament hath many good things in it, and the Ancients haue neuer done praising it, and extolling it, euen out of their owne feeling. I haue read much, but I reade no Doctor like the Doctor of Doctors, Christ himselfe, who best could tell what good wee receiue by it. Hee hath tolde vs in two words as much as shall bee needefull at



Ioh. 6. this time, *in me manet, & ego in eo*, Hee that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, shall dwell in mee, and I in him. To dwell in him (saith Saint *Augustine*) is to be a peece, or member of him. To be in him, is to be one body with him. And  
 Traſt. 27. in Ioh. as Saint *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, *non fide tantum, ſed ipſa re nos ſuum corpus efficit*, He doth incorporate vs vnto him, not onely by faith, but in very deede, as much to ſay; wee doe not onely thinke it, and beleeeue it; but our very ſoule doth alſo feele it, and finde it to bee ſo, and glorieth in it, for that wee are made all one with ſo great a Maieſty.

Truely, there is no two can bee one, ſo, as wee with God, by this heauenly Bread receiued; not the neereſt friends that are, not the greateſt louers in the world, not Angels, and Seraphins; yet wee are one with God, by receiuing of God. What ſhould wee feare? whom ſhould wee dread on earth? The bleſſed Apoſtle ſaith, *If God bee for vs, who can bee againſt vs*: how much more may wee ſay it, if God be not onely for vs, but in vs: for ſo he ſaith.

*Et ego in eo*, and I in him; which words Saint *Augustine* expoundeth alſo very well in the ſame place, how God is in vs. Hee tolde vs before, how we dwell in him: now he tels vs, how he dwels in vs. Hee dwels in vs, ſaith he, as in his temple, or place dedicated to his ſeruice: not content with ſtately temples and goodly buildings made with hand, walled with ſtone, couered with lead on the outſide, with gold, and all that is pretious on the inſide; large, faire, and wide, to receiue a multitude. Not thus content I ſay, but makes his chappell of eaſe in our hearts, his tabernacle in our breſts, his priuy chamber, or cloſſet in our boſomes, to ſit with vs, to conferre with vs, and as it were to ſolace with vs in priuate: *Et ego in eo*. How is this I in him? not in a generall ſort as God is euery where; but in particular, as hee was in *Salomons* temple, when his *Arke* of Teſtimony was brought in. *Implenerat domum domini gloria domini*, there wee reade a Cloude entred, and filled the houſe with glory. Heere, not a Cloude, or ſhaddowe this *ego in eo*, but the Sunne itſelfe comes in, and filles vs indeede with glory.



These bee great matters I speake of, and wee may not flippe them out, nor let them flippe from vs lightly. To be all one with God, not with earthly kings; to be vnited with God, not with Angels, or Archangels; to be the temple of God, not a pallace for a Prince; to bee a resting place for Iesus, not a couch of golde for *Ashuerus*. Who can tell what glory this is to vs, what a priuiledge, what an aduancement in the sight of the whole heauenly warfare? euen greater then any Prince in the world can euer bestow on vs, though it were to set vs in a throane by him.

*Et ego in eo*, and I in him, saith God himselfe. Who can heare these words drowfily, as though they were but words, and belonged not vnto vs? many a horse knowes when his master is on his backe, and will shew it by his carriage: are not we better then horses? who can heare these quickening words, and starts not out of a dead sleepe? who heares *ego in eo*, and aspires not to haue that *ego* in him often, with often receiuing? and when he hath receiued, who can sinne wilfully that day, or soone after? *Elias* walked forty daies in the strength of one loafe; how much more may we hold out in the strength of this heauenly morsell, vntill the next time wee come to receiue it? who cannot forget and forgiue, that carries the Lord of mercy in his bosome? who can wrong his neighbour in word or deede, and carries the rightfull iudge in his owne body? who can harbour an euill thought in his soule, that hath made his soule the altar of God? who can delight in vncleane talke, that hath made his mouth an entrance into this temple? who can thinke of nothing but buying and selling in this temple, that is the temple himselfe of him that made it? 3. Reg. 19. 8

*Et ego in eo*. How is God in vs? is it as a commer, and goer, and as a passenger onely? No: but as a dweller or inhabiter; for so the word *manet* signifies. As one in a manner that left heauen, to dwell in the world; hath left the world to dwell in vs. A noble possession keeper, a noble protector of all wee haue, if wee can hold him. By this being of God in vs, wee shall not looke to prophecy, or do miracles, or great wonders in the world, which are more



for others good, then our owne. But all that is sure to better our soules, wee shall be sure to haue. God will neuer see vs want happinesse. Wee are posselt of God with receiuing of God, and wee are often posselt with receiuing him often. And if it be miserable to be posselt of euill and wicked spirits; how happy is it then to be posselt of God, who brings all good things with him. And lastly, if this temple of his, this body of ours do chance to perish, or bee wronged, or ruined for his greater glory & our trial *in tribus diebus* *Suscitabit illud*, he wil build it again quickly much fairer then it was. There bee of you heere, that haue tasted the good of this *bread* of *Trauellers*, and often receiuing it; it hath made you hardy, and resolute in your businesse; and to such as haue dyed in the field, it hath beene their *Viaticum*, as the fathers call it, to bring them to God. Such viaticum or voyage prouision God send vs neere our death, if we dye on a suddaine.

Ioh. 2.

Yee haue hitherto heard what necessity there is of this heavenly bread, and some part of the benefit of it, and what cause our Prophet had to cry out vpon vs as hee doth, for misbestowing what wee haue, so vily, and not vpon these *breads*, for heaping vnworthy things in this world, and neglecting the worthiest, that will sticke by vs for euer. If the Prophet were now liuing, and saw our grossenesse in this behalfe, hee would thunder more plainely against vs, then he doth. *Behold* he is yet liuing in his writings and spirit. Let not the letter lye dead in the booke: take it and beate it in a mortar: Bruise it well, and powne it into spice, that the fragrancy of it may fill euery corner of your house: make a sheafe of wheate of it, and thrash it out for a grist to serue at your board, and feede your soule.

Esay 55.

It followes in the same place; *your labours*, and not in *Saturitie*, or *fulnesse*. Now, since we haue done with the *bread* of *trauellers*; we ought of right to speake next of the *bread* of *Angels*, (which was the other part of my deuision) before we leaue bread, & go to anew matter. Howbeit because we haue reserued this of Angels to be spoken of last; wee will breake order a little, and goe forward first with our Prophets



phets owne words as they lye ; and the other bread we shall finde oportunitie for (God willing) at an other time.

Why spend yee your siluer (saith hee) and not in bread ; your labour, and not in saturity ? Hee said before, your *Siluer*, now your *labour*. He said before, and not in *bread*; now and not in *Saturity*. Before he found fault with mispending our goods ; now, for wasting our bodies , for so is to bee vnderstood this word *labour*, which is as much to say , as toyle of body and minde. Gods curse it was vpon *Adam*, that the earth and creatures should rebell against him; and nothing he should haue without labour, and toyle ; in *labore comedes*; If thou wilt eate, thou must labour for it : and in the *sweat of thy brow shall bee thy foode*. He hath shewne before, how prodigally wee spend our substance vpon eue-ry thing, but that wee should. Our will vpon selfe-liking; our wit vpon fancies ; our vnderstanding vpon things fading, and transitory; our learning (if we haue any) vpon sensuality ; our stile or tongue in setting foorth a lye, as soone as a true tale; our health in pastime and play, and all that we haue in idle vanities for the most part, with little respect of God, or of his holy seruice, for which onely we were created; insinuating vnto vs, that if it were not in *bread*, or in order to God, it must needs be in one of these. Now comes he to our bodies also, and the actions thereof; how we bestowe our strength , how our labour ; how our hands and feete, how our senses: and finding them all no better bestowed then the other were ; that is (to say) in hope of ease, and yet no true ease ; in hope of pleasure, and yet no true pleasure ; in hope of filling, and yet empty ; in hope of *Saturity*, and yet no true *Saturity*; hee asketh this question as before of our money, and other outward things, so now of our *labours*, and cares of life, saying : why bestow yee all these things as ye doe, and not in *Saturity* ?

*Saturity* yee must thinke is as much to say, as fulnesse of contentment: It is as much to say, as I haue enough Lord , *Satis est*, I aske no more in this life. It is written of holy *Ephraim* and others, that were much addicted to prayer Luk. 22. and meditation ; that they found such extraordinary com- Plat. lib. 3.



fort therein sometimes ; that they brake forth into these words, saying ; *Satis domine*, enough Lord ; as much to say, as hold thy hand Lord, I haue enough. Let mee not haue heauen before I come there, I haue enough. And this is not onely their contentment, that are perfect ; but it is e- uery good bodies, that loues vertue, and delights in pray- er, and although he haue not extraordinary comforts, nor can expect those rare illuminations which some haue had: yet if hee vse but an ordinary deuotion in his ordinary course of prayers, and resignehimselfe wholly to God; he shall finde( no doubt)so much quickening hope, that hee shall rise from his knees very contentedly with *Satis domine*, and such compleate satisfaction, as in his humility, and ac- knowledgement of his vnworthinesse, hee would thinke is much more,then he could expect.

**Psal. 16.**

I confesse, and let this be our ground, that there is no absolute content in this life, all our content, euen a Saints content vpon earth;is but in *enigmate*, or like the sunne in a cloude vpon a gloomy day:and therefore holy *David* saith, *Satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua* he saith not Sator in the present, but Satiabor in the future tense: Signifying here- by ; that there is no *society* in this life, no perfect filling, or saturity here; it must be in heauen, not here; it is in vision of God, not in fruition of creatures ; wee are here but in expectation, there in possession ; here in hope, and promise, there in deede and performance; here in fight, there in vi- ctory ; here like hunters, and souldiers, there wee deuide the spoiles. The souldier in his fore-age is glad of any thing he can get, and saith *Satis*. The faulconer likewise, or hun- ter, is well pleased for the time at a poore mans house, and saith *Satis* for it, as if he were at home in richer fare. And this is the best of our cases here. Wee are all souldiers in this *magno campo*, or great battle of the world. Wee are huntf-men in this wilde forrest, or chace of beasts, and sau- ages, our owne appetites, and inordinate desires; which some- times wee kill, and sometimes they escape our hands. But in the time of this our hunting, we are glad many times to meete with a fountaine in stead of a tauerne to coole our thirst;

**Iudi. 1.**



thirst; a little hope I say, in stead of a possession, a feruent thought now and then instead of a present imbrace: and this is *Satis*, and sweete to vs, vntill wee come home at night, that is (to say) in the end of our life, to our heauenly dwelling; where wee shall haue indeede, not onely our true *Satis*, but *Satis superq̃*, and shall haue no end of enough.

I must confesse I say that the life of the vertuous in this world is in hunger and thirst, and in a longing after heauen: yea all their life is in defection, and fainting; for so saith Dauid, *concupiscit, & deficit anima mea in atria domini*, my Psal. 83. soule doth lust, and faint withall, vntill it enter the house of God. Yet what of this? is there therefore no contentment in it? See I pray what hee saies in the very same place, and ibid. verse? My heart and flesh (saith hee) haue leapt for ioy, that I shall come to my louing God. Loe heere how he answers the matter himselfe; hee fainteth, and yet hee exulteth: he was ready to dye, and yet hee leapeth for ioy. And so in another place, *Mine eyes begin to faile mee*, while I hope in my Psal. 68. God. See heere a notable *Sympathy* in an *Antithesis*, a concord as it were in a holy discord, a fainting and leaping both at one time, a defection and exultation both at a breath, a swounding and reuiuing all in a verse, all at an instant. So as, let our discomfort bee neuer so great, beeing for God, and in a longing after him: such discomfort can be no true discomfort, that is so full of comfort; no true dulnesse or heauinesse, that is so quicke with childe of so great hopes, or of so hopefull an inheritance.

It farre exceeds the comfort of *Jacob*, who thought it little to serue seauen yeares for faire *Rachel*, beeing sure to haue her in the ende. Our enioying also lyes in our willes: Wee are as sure of it as wee are sure of our willes; fire and water cannot part vs, if wee loue and like. What is Rom. 8. there in the world should beate vs from this hope? can tribulation? can pouerty, or any thing else? Yea, doe not crosses encrease our comforts, as water increaseth fire? These be the comforts that *Salomon* calles *Iuge conuiuium*, or Prou. 15. all day feasting. How can wee bee sorrowfull in a feast full 2. Pet. 1. of harmony? To this content or faciety, doth Saint *Peter* invite you, saying *Sat agite*, that is (to say) *Satis agite*. Doe



as much as lyes in you for your contentment, which ye may gather by him, can no where else bee had, but in a morall certainty of your vocation, and election, and your true concurring therewithall. This the comfort of comforts, and well head of true content, or highest toppe of our *Satis* in this life. What life can bee in sorrow, that is indowed with this? and they that haue this, whatsoeuer they bee, or haue beene, may ioy and exult at all times. Let miseries come like hayle vpon vs, yet can wee not bee vnhappy, as long as wee haue this. Let our estate for life bee what it will be, so we be sure of our inheritance: our perpetuall hope of this, and our will still concurring with our hope, is it that nourisheth so, as, wee can aske no more in this life, wheresoeuer wee become; in paine or pleasure, among friends or enemies, in sleepe or awake, in trauell or at rest, in plenty or penury, peace or warre, in businesse or at quiet; still our *Satis* attends vs, and wee carry content where wee goe, in triumph about vs.

And these comforts if wee will imbrace them as wee bee offered them, are the earnest pennies that tye vs to God, and him to vs, vnlesse we goe from it first our selues. These our claime to a future inheritance, or a possession keeping against the diuell and his angels for the places they had, and lost in heauen, and wee must haue after them. This the *Satis domine* that holy *David* felt in his soule and spirit, saying, *Renuit consolari anima mea, memor fui dei, & delectatus sum*. So delighted hee to thinke of his part he had in God, that hee founde himselfe vnable to holde the comfort of it. Now what comfort is there abroad in the world, that they will say to God *Satis domine* with the Saints aforesaide; or *Renuit consolari anima mea* with *David*? is there any will say, Lord thou giuest mee to much? Forbeare. Will they not say rather giue mee more Lord, I haue not enough? I haue no contentment yet for want of more? This is therefore that hearts ease, this is the contentment and faciety our Prophet speakes of heere, and findes fault that wee labour and toyle as we doe, and not in this Saturity.

My good friends, I haue tolde you in brieft, what Saturation  
ritie



ritie it is, that hee meaneth, and is truely in Gods seruants, and no where else to bee founde. Will any man contend with mee, and say it is in the world; it is where riches are, it is where pleasures are, it is with kings and mighty folke? I cannot deny, but such persons haue contentment. They do what they wil, and their pleasures are prouided for them without their trouble. They are tyed to no rule, tyed to no law, keepe no houres, day nor night. If they bee sicke, the Physitian is at their elbowe. What should I speake of riches? they may wallowe in gold, if they will. What of faire houses and dainty gardens well sette, and planted with plumbes, and fruits of the best. None to contradict them in their desires, none to crosse them in any sort. I speake not of inferiour persons, whose content (it may be) is not, nor can bee so absolute as these. And yet as great content they may seeme to haue in their lesse, and meaner estate, as the other in their grand superfluities: yet few of them can say *Satis*, or thinke they haue enough, as deuout people can: but seeke for more, labour for more, are vnquiet for more the most of them, as if they had nothing: yea I haue knowne some confesse, that for wanting a little of their willes or wishes, it hath troubled them more, then if they had nothing. And of this there can bee no other true reason, but that they bee no true contentments, but false and deceitfull, as I could easily prooue, if my purpose were to insist on it.

This alone may suffice for this point, that the heathen Philosopher, who reached no higher then morality, sawe as much as I tell you, and founde no true contentment but in Philosophy, & wisdom, and in vertuous contemplation. In respect whereof, he contemned all basser matters; pleasures they held both counterfeit and foule. And if any man thinke them truely delightfull, the fault is in his corrupted minde (saith *Aristotle*) that lookes no higher. And *Plato* likewise will haue no true content in riches or pleasures, and they  
 „ that fight and scratch for them, as they doe (saith hee)  
 „ are like beasts that feede downeward and creepe on their  
 „ bellies, and neuer looke vp as men should, towards their

eth. 10. dial.  
de rep.



Stesichorus true contentment. Thus saith hee ; and he makes no reckoning of riches ; and the greatest pleasures hee holdes but shaddowes of pleasures, as a very ancient *Poet* was wont to say, whom he there auoucheth for this purpose thus.

*For Hellen faire, as Troians thought,  
But not true Hellen, Troians fought.*

And to this effect they all agree most constantly, not swaruing a iot one from an other, and by no other light, then by naturall reason ; that there is no true *Satis* in any of all these ; and therefore no maruell if it cannot bee founde among them that bee sensuall, and more then purblinde of Soule, as most people are.

And yet to come neerer our prophets meaning in this place, and to make a full benefit of it for our greater good ; let vs search a little further, since wee haue said what *Saturity* it is hee speaketh of heere, who and what they bee also that labour thus (as hee saith) without it, and who they bee I say that take so much paines, and haue not their fill.

Wee knowe a great many in the world, that as they haue not their fill greatly ; so take they but little paines or labour for it. And therefore surely our Prophet meaneth not any of these, because they bee not of those that labour. They liue by other bodies labours, and doe nothing themselves. They are idle and lazie, and will bee troubled with nothing, but looke that euery thing should be put into their mouthes : whether our Prophet meanes these or no, I must giue them a touch by the way, because they swarme so in our countrey. Oh how farre doe wee degenerate from our Ancestours. Our nobility and gentry for the most part are corrupted with idlenesse. Be it spoken without offence. Vnlesse they be Magistrates, officers, or housekeepers, students, souldiers imployed, merchants, tradesmen, or husbandmen ; I dare boldly say it, for the most part of them, they haue so little care of bestowing their time well, that they were better holde the plough then bee so nobly idle as they bee. They cannot tell at night, what good they haue done that day, as  
euery



euery labourer can. But where idle company leades them, there they goe, there they play, there they wrangle or make merry, loose their time, loose their money and meanes, and make themselues businesse to shift for more. Most of our young folke make fooles of themselues, that are otherwise well enough indued.

Is it not a shame to see how intemperate they be of their dyet, how inconstant in their houres, how vnstable in their actions, how wauering in their gate, how new fangled in their apparell, how fond and wild in their conuersation, how affectat in their words, how heathen-like euery way, and ignorant in all Christian duties? one takes it of another like a disease; euery vpstart or countrey ladde will be as proude, and idle as the best, if hee come in place, and can holde vp his nose aloft, carry a fescue in his mouth, and answer not a word to any man without three or foure askings. Their exercise is to sleepe long, and to meditate on their mistresse till almost dinner time. Then to *Tobacco*, then to dinner somewhere, then to a play, or a Tobacco-house, or else in pilgrimage from one idle body to another. He spends his time rarely, if he take a viall in hand and sing to it; then to supper, then to gaming or Tobacco againe till midnight, or other like daliance vntill they be weary.

His bookes be *Amades*, or *Ariosto*, or an *Arcadia*, or if these be to high for him, a playbooke or some such fancy as the world is full of, to while himselfe withall, for want of company. Much like my ladies dogge, that doth nothing but eate, drinke, and sleepe, or lye in a lappe. Sometimes he barks, then to his cushion againe, then vp into the bedde, then downe againe to the fire, then whines to the lappe againe: so fares it with our idle folkes, void of learning, voide of resolution, voide of grace, or very little stored with it. Holding it most ridiculous to speake of Christ, or holy things, vnlesse it be to sweare by them: seldome praying but for a fashion, imitating *Angels* in nothing but in *celerity*, who shall say fastest: begin perhaps with *domine ne in furore* and within two or three snappes after, are at *valde velociter*. Quickly in bedde, long in rising, pruning,



ning, and making ready, giuen to no good exercise, but ease and fatnesse vntill they bee gray and readie for a graue.

Besides this, euery one hath his humour, and is ledde by the nose with it like a *beare*; giues way to all passions, and that is valiant with him. I haue seene some *Neroes* and *Vitellij* amongst them for spending, and ingurgitating. I thinke they would spend seauen millions (if they had it) in fewe moneths space, as the one of these did; or a thousand sorts of fish at a meale, and as many of foule as the other did, or be alwaies inuenting new pleasures, as both did, if it were not for very shame. For I make no scruple to iudge the worst of them by the abundāce of the heart, that breaks out at their tongues ends, and at their deboyshf fashions vnrecouerable. But these be the worthiest, they may seeme to follow, and none else. They will seeme to be braue minded, and yet will follow the basest.

They might learne if they pleased of that noble *Romane Sertorius*, to hate their owne vile conditions, and liue more like men. Hee was fellowe with Princes, though in banisht estate. And he was sought vnto by kings. It will disparage no man to follow him. *Metellus* refused single combate with him, and *Pompey* twice driuen out of the field: yet was he humble to all, deere to his followers, pittifull to his enemies, chaste of body, sober of carriage, and might not abide a dissolute body, that were alwaies talking of women, and wantonnesse. Another like to him was *Agessilaus* a *gracian Prince*, who although he were amorous, yet modest in word, and action; content with any mirth but impudicities; and if the contrary had beene offered, he gaue it a proud repulse, or a deafe eare. How many examples be there of such in our bookes, and how many noble christians both dead, and aliue, very imitable in this kinde. But ours had rather follow *Hanniball*; and so let them; for there was not a more worthy for all qualities belonging to a gentleman, nor any more sober or continent then he; or that tooke more paines, or that lesse loued idlenes then he. Our countrey men, many of them are great readers, and small fol-

lowers.



lowers. They scorne to be ignorant of any thing, yet make no vse of it, but lippe witte. I had rather see a still practiser, then a loud speaker, that is ready to take the tale out of a mans mouth, whatsoeuer he speakes of. Hee that reades much outwardly, and reformes little inwardly, is like one that delights in a pleasant wood, and yet doth nothing when he is there, but make rods for himselfe.

Eye vpon idlenesse, the mother of sinne, and effeminate-nesse both in high and lowe.

*Queritur Agistius quare sit factus adulter?*

*In promptu causa est : desidiosus erat.*

Ouid.

The question was asked : why lou'd *Agistius* luxurie?

Answer was made, *Because* he liued idly.

And therefore they that haue any goodnesse, will hate to liue idly. They shall haue time enough to bee idle in their graues; but while we be liuing let vs alwayes be doing. When *Eumenes* was so straightly besieged by *Antigonus*, that his people had no roome to doe any thing, they were affraide of nothing more then of idlenesse; their enemy troubled them not so much without the walles, as idlenesse within. But their worthy captaine prouided for them very well, deuised new exercises of strength, and motion, such as their little roome would allow of, either in his hall, or in some other corners. And some hee made ouerseers of the rest. The very horses they would not let be idle, but kept them in breath, with hanging them in such sort, that they could scarce touch ground with their forefeete, and then belaboured them so with sticke, and voice; that they sweat, and groand againe. Others walked them, till they were coole. Others ground barley for them. There was not a gentleman that refused to doe any thing to keepe him from idlenesse.

Plut.

Idlenesse is the corrupter of all good manners, no vertue hath possession (saith one *Philosopher*) where a man is not in some good action. Idlenesse hath beene equally punished heretofore with murther or theft. Others made it but ban-

nishment;



in Licurgo.  
Strobus  
ser. 42.

Plin. lib. 6.

Plut. in  
Sympo.

Sueto.

nishment ; others made it fineable. *Athens persicus* made them worse then horse rubbers, that were idle. *Lycurgus* provided so, that none could be idle; all persons had enough to doe in their place. Amongst the *Lucanes* in *Italy*, a man lost his money by the lawes, that he had lent to an idle, or a voluptuous body. *Amasis* likewise a most wise king who reigned foure and forty yeares ouer the *Egyptians*, made a law vpo paine of death, that euery man should once a yeare giue an accompt of his life, and actions, and how he maintained himselfe : and he appointed Pretours of purpose to take this accompt. This law did *Augustus* like so well of, that he made the like in Rome. And *Solon* long before him brought the same to *Athens*, to roote out of the citty vnprofitable weedes, that sucke out the iuyce and foyson of the earth, and bring nothing againe ; take the fruite of it, and giue no fruite againe. The oxe feedes by vs, and giues vs his flesh to eate ; the cowe feedes, and giues sweet milke for it ; the sheepe feeds, and giues vs cloathing to our backs ; and our horse carries vs for his meate. Onely our idle bodies take all they can, giue nothing againe ; and since they will not be their owne lawe, it is great pittie, that the law of *Amasis* is not amongst them.

Mat. 11.

Mat. 20.

If I should tell you more stories in this kinde ; happily I should please you, more then my selfe. It is not the *Roman* nor the *Grecian*, or *Spartan* that I seeke for : but the true Christian. Woe be to thee *Corozain*, as our Sauour saith : so woe be to thee so idle a Christian whatsoeuer. For if Christ had walked the Egyptian streetes, if Christ had beene preached out of the Romane pulpits, if Pagans had had such a marke to shoote at, as wee in the eyes of our faith haue ; had it beene said to them, *why stand yee heere idly*, and haue a world of your owne to thinke of in heauen, which will not be had with out thinking, and labouring ? they would not haue needed such lawes as I speake of, nor would haue stood gaping so idly about them, as we doe, and care not which end goes forward.

And therefore o yee flower of our nation that are here together, the hope of your friends, & not the meanest portion



tion of your countries expectation. Whose ancestours were not idle when then they carried the lillies farre and neere, and extended your borders so wide, and large; nor idle when they defended your frontiers, built your cities, towers, townes, castles, and Churches without number; not idle in so many foundations, and noble monuments, which they haue left behind them to the glory of God, and honour of our nation; not idle when they bred you, and brought you vp to that you now bee. And your selues also not idle hitherto, either in your times of march, or dayes of truce. Nay, I know not whether any in the world were in better businesse then you; not scorning the meanest offices in the field, or campe; or about your owne persons, when yee had others to doe it for you. Yet somewhat ye would bee doing alwaies with your owne horse, or armour, or drying your owne powder, or accommodating your pike, or picking and pruning your petronell, obseruing euer so willingly your leaders voice; and seruing God continually in word, and thought. Let not this idle canker (I say) come neere your doores hereafter, or set any footing where you haue to doe. Flie it, shunne it, auoide it, as you would a house that hath the plague in it.

Take heede I beseech you of this vnprofitable idlenesse, that will bee ready to assault you when you come home. And beware no lesse of idle hangers on. I am very vnprofitable my selfe; but rather then I would bee as some are, I wish my selfe a stone, or a peece of wood, that somewhat might bee made of mee. There is not a sticke of wood, but will make somewhat. Either a bowe, or a bedde-staffe, or a toppe, or a tyle-pinne. But our idle bodies serue for nothing. They are neither good for God, nor the common-wealth, nor themselves. Not for God, but to practise his iudgements vpon. Not for the common-wealth, but to eate vp their prouision before it be spoiled, and to drinke vp their pots by yards, or dozens if that bee good. Neither are they for themselves; that put not out their wit, nor that they haue to the most, no, not to any aduantage for their eternall good. Knowing well enough that they may not

F

liue



liue heere alwaies. One day the dolefull bell must ring out for them, their eye-liddes closed vp, their face cast ouer with a cloath, their body laid out vpon colde boardes, the soule wandring the whilest in a very strange countrey, darke and dismall, not a man or angell to speake for it, nor any to bid welcome, but a sort of mishapen and angry monsters.

Idlenesse will bee pittifully paid for at that day, and so ~~if~~ I leaue them. If they haue nothing else to doe, let them be humble, and learne their *Catechisme* by heart againe; or goe to some heauenly broker, as they went in the gospell to Saint *Iohn Baptist*; or as they in the *Acts*, that came to the Apostles, to know what they should doe, or how they might put out with safety any hability they had. Yea the Scripture there sayes more. That they were *compuncti corde*, their hearts (as it were) bled within them, when they heard of their duties. Oh that your hearts would bleede likewise, though I bee but a worme that speake to you at this time, for lacke of a better. Yet I doe wish that this duty of yours were as deeply conceiued by you, as it deeply concernes you; to the end that yee aske alwaies as they did, *quid faciemus*, what shall wee doe? or what amends shall wee make for time past? how shall wee bestowe our selues hereafter? how shall wee spend our idle houres? how the forenoone, how the afternoone, that no more time may be lost? Truly it will not hurt a man to aske; neither will it bee troublesome to any friend that loues you, to resolute you. But yet if my counsell bee not pleasing to some, I would wish them yet, to doe as the great *Turke* doth, (I would it were the worst hee did) to professe some *mechanicall* art, to keepe him from idlenesse. This man maketh rings for bowe-men, his father made arrowes well. And if a gentleman can paint or limme, or imborder for his exercise, or haue skill of gardening, and planting either fruite or fuell, or make, or mend any thing that belongs to himselfe, or his horse, it will not disparage him.

And this I speake the rather before you that be Souldiers, because your course of life I see is very actiue, or very idle. Your skill for the most part goes no further then *Mars*. Ye  
haue

Acts 2.



haue learnt nothing else heere ; and if *Mars* haue no im-  
 ployment for you at home, yee will fall to worse courses ;  
 which I would bee loath to heare of any of you, and yet  
 idlenesse will dispose you to it, whether ye will or no. Gray  
 haire will grow vpon you quickly, and yee shall not know  
 for what. Bethinke your selues suddainely what course yee  
 will take, to passe your time profitably, and to preuent the  
 extreame euills that idlenesse brings. The Philosopher saith,  
 there is no *vacuum in rerum natura*, from the top of heauen, *Arist. phi.*  
 to the center, there is nothing voide of some substance. And  
 as the law of nature admits no emptinesse, so let your manly  
 nature allow of no idlenes, but fill it vp with good thoughts  
 at the least, to keepe out this idle *vacuum*.

I haue stood somewhat long vpon your idle folkes, and  
 vpon idlenesse, because it is the bane of common-weales,  
 and ruine of most houses. And I would haue both publike,  
 and priuate to take notice of their daily danger, which is  
 sooner felt then auoided. Yet these bee not they our Pro-  
 phet speakes of, as I said before : for these bee but idle, and  
 take no paines; *In labore hominum non sunt*, they be no paine- *Psal. 72.*  
 takers, but ease-takers. And hee speaketh of those heere,  
 that labour and are alwaies toyling about somewhat ; and  
 whom it seemeth hee takes pittie of, in that they trauell, and  
 sweate about such things, as giue no true contentment, or se-  
 curity at all to their soules. There bee two sorts of these,  
 that take paines, and care in the world without this Saturi-  
 ty. The first is of them that labour, and yet eate not at all,  
 for all their labour. They feede not of our Bread aforesaid,  
 and therefore no maruell if they bee not filled. The more  
 one labours, the further off from filling, if hee feede not.  
 The other is of them that labour and feede, and yet they  
 thriue not greatly, nor are filled. They taste and feede (I  
 say) of the Breads I spake of in my first part ; but they feed  
 more sparingly then they neede, hauing such plenty before  
 them. And these be those our Prophet speakes of properly;  
 that take paines about many things, when one thing onely  
 is necessary ; labour so much for Transitories, that they are *Luk. 10.*  
 the weaker for it to things eternall.



The first sort surely comes not within his meaning in this place, beeing notorious sinners, and such as labour for wicked ends. Of whom it may bee said *iam iudicati sunt*, they haue Iudgement of hell vpon them already. And who bee these but extortioners, and wringers, that care not how they get, so they get. Who else? but the proude, contenti-ous, and malicious persons, men and women. Who else? the backbiter, tale-carrier, and make-bate. Who else? drunkards and swearers, that doe nothing but fret, and chafe, and make a noise; quarrellers also, and lasciuious persons, & perpetuall gamesters. None of these be saued almost without a miracle. For they will not so much as taste of any thing that should do them good. If they would but taste, haply they might haue their fill at one time, or other. But they wil none of it, and so I leaue them also. It is neither these our Prophet speakes of, being in no way at all, no, not in the first step to Saturity: neither is it of idle bodies as I said before, because they labour not at all. It is the other sort onely (as I take it) that is here intended, and meant; whose endeauors are for the most part to honest ends, and their busines commonly not vnlawfull.

Such I say as haue a desire to be saued and vse meanes for it, but very coldely many times, and very confusedly. Coldly, because it is with feruour too little. Confusedly, because it is mixed, and interlaced, and ouerborne as it were with worldly contentments. Ye know, if drosse & filth get into our veines, the blood will soone be tainted with it, and cannot giue that nourishment it should; but turnes to bad humors, & bring vs to that plight, that although we feede with the best, yet we thrine not with the best. We looke like men that should bee hardy and strong, but we proue like women in the greene sicknes. We looke pale and leane on it in Gods sight, and not worth the ground we tread on. When we pray and our mind is fraught with other things; when we come to the sacramēt, & put not away all rancor; what is this, but to sop our bread in the channell, or our meate in the dust of an olde post, or to cate rawe flesh, or to poure in water into our *Aqua-vita*. I will not say but here is labour, and care, and meanes also vsed  
for



for the good of the Soule. But it can neuer bee fat thus, nor haue Saturity. It will liue, though it be wan and pale; it will breath, though it be fallowe and greene; it will goe forward though faintly; it will thriue a little, but not much.

Sophocles.

*Labor labori laborem imponit*, as they say. One labour begets another in this world, one labour must follow, and perfect other, or else all is imperfect. There is labour in tilling, labour in sowing, labour in weeding, labour in reaping, inning, and thrashing it out; after this, it must be ground, and set on our board. If any of these labours be missing, there comes no fulnesse, or saturity of it. It will be labour without saturity. What security haue husband men to mowe their grasse, and neuer make it; to reape their wheate, and to leaue it in the field to weather, and birds? What security finde merchants in loading, fraighting, launching, and putting into haven, if they leaue all on ship board when they haue done, for euery body to steale, and bring them not into their warehouse? And this is that our Prophet speakes of here, our labour must bee *continando*: he inueighes not here against notorious sinners, or damned crewes; Such as the world is full of, and the Scriptures are full against them in other places. But the Prophecies here against them, that are in their way to heauen, and make no more haste in it; will be put by with euery toy; goe forward one day, backward another; doe well one day, ill another; amend one day, fall to it againe another; haue good meate before them, and eate no better of it: eate well perhaps, but heede not what they swallow with it.

They forbear sinne what they can, but watch not their bad inclinations; are good to the poore, but reuengefull to their enemy, are giuen to fasting, and prayer, yet are wayward and testy to their liues ende. Others bee milde, but negligent withall; stout but stiffe withall, wise but opinatiue, forward but inflexible, obedient but against their wils; praise worthy but glorying in it. It will prooue *inutilis labor*. I feare me in the end. And their work may turne to froth for all their labour in a great many; or else so full of trash, as the bloud of Christ can doe no more then wash



it away. There can be no vertue or goodnes in vs without labor, no patience or perseuerance without labor, no withstanding temptations, or praier fruitfull without labor; & if we labor in none of these, it is a signe that we haue none of these.

Now what should I speake of zeale and feruour of deuotion, which ought to be our wings to heauen-ward? whether be these fledde? What wicked fiend, or accursed fortune of ours hath blowne them away? What coast, or forraine countrey hath rauished them from vs; that wee may goe seeke them, and fetch them home againe, and make much of them, when we haue them? and will this be done without labour also? I would to God we saw, what is yet to bee seene, and daily comes to our eares by merchants, and trauellers of the furthest parts of the earth? What loue and zeale those *Paynims* beare both young and old of both sexes to their gods, that are no gods. It would make vs ashamed of our extreame coldnes, and indevotion to our true God; if we saw it. Yea what will they be, and how zealous, when they come to be conuerted (as it may be) since they are now so deuout to Idols or *Pago-des* as they call them, the handy workes of men? There were to be seene in the old testament, that offered their children to sacrifice in their blind zeale. There bee now in the *Indies* that sacrifice themselues daily to please their god, and they thinke it no labour because we speake of labour, nor sticke at any paines that can bee, in their wicked seruice. Haply yee will not beleue what I shall tell you, but there bee thousands liuing to testifie it: neither doe I speake it, as fit for vs to follow, yet not vnfit to make vse of; that we may learne to labour the good we may, by them that labour in euill which they may not.

*Psal. 105.*

Of certain they are there so full of deuotion, & the people of all sorts are so obsequious to their *Pago-des*; that the *Hist. Alex.* king of *Cochine* not long since holden for a prudent prince, and a man of notable gouernment, left his gouernment wholly, and in habit of a poore man, went a fiew yeares pilgrimage, to visit all the *pago-des* of *India* al alone vnkown; where hee indured much misery and sorrow before his returne,



turne, and yet such comfort he tooke in it belike, that he began such another voyage afterward, but died in it.

His successour likewise that followed him, tooke after him vnfortunately. For being but of weake constitution, yet vsing great austerity to himselfe many houres in a day in his closet alone, with superstitious meditations, which were most hurtfull to his health, hee died within the yeare. Yet see his seruour. Vpon a day the gouernour of *Cochine* aduised him, and besought him, to haue more care of his health, alleadging the Phisitions opinions, that the long ceremonies, and much solitarinesse, which he vsed for prayer, would quickly hazzard him, or cost him his life. Howbeit the king set light by any thing hee could say; and told him further, that he made more reckoning of the least of his deuotions to the *Pago-des*, then of an hundred thousand liues; all which if he had them, he would spend in their seruice. There be some kings and great Lords in the countrey, that for the reuerence they beare to their *Pago-des*, they haue little ones of gold hanging at their forehead, and doe their deuotions to them at their times, with great humiliation. And to the end they may not forget it, they haue their pages of purpose, that haue nothing else to doe, but to put them in mind of their houres, and to name but the name of the *pago-des*, whereat the King will bowe himselfe with great reuerence. In the night time also, these pages awake their masters for the same cause.

But that which exceedeth all admiration is a terrible feast, which they hold at *Garcopa* a little from *Onor*, on a certaine day. And this is such a dreadfull thing, that Christians are forbidden to goe thither vpon paine of excommunication. On this festiuall day, there is an infinite course of people to attend it. The *Pago-de* with certaine of the *Brachmans* comes forth in a chariot very richly set out, the wheelles whereof are tyred with Iron, as piercing and sharpe as a razor. And as the chariot marches, there comes a number to offer their liues to the *Pago-de*, and cast themselves on their knees in the lowliest manner they can, vntill by little and little they lye flat on the earth, iust where the



wheeles must come ouer them, and cuttes them all to peeces; and these bee holden for Saints, as our Martyrs are with vs.

In the other parts of *India* about the borders of *Choromandell*, of *Saint Thomas*, and in other places likewise, the *Pago-de* is carried vpon mens shoulders; where the *Brachmans* that carry it make as though the god will goe no further, and they not able to carry it further. And it may bee that the Diuell doth presse them so hard, that they cannot stirre indeede. Then come there many (that are neuer wanting at such a time) who stabbe themselues to death and there fall downe before it. And yet the *Pago-de* will not stirre, vntill the number be full, as the deuill or *Brachmans* would haue it. And then they goe forward to the temple againe, well loaden with the spoyle of those damned creatures both body and soule. Yet this they do, and thinke they doe their god seruice in it. And shall arise no doubt in iudgment against vs. Who know the true God, and yet are so spiritlesse, and dull in his true seruice, as we be.

There is no neede of slicing, and wounding our selues as they doe; yet it will not hurt vs to leape out of a warme bedde sometimes for a *Pater noster* while, either to encounter an ill thought assaying vs, or to pray for them that haue no where to lye, or for them that be in danger that night by sea, or land, or if we chance to heare a passing bell. God forbid we should kill or misediet our selues with ouer much care; and yet to pinch our selues a little for the poore, or for abating our flesh that it rebell not, are testimonies to our conscience that we feare, and loue God. Wee will not leaue our needefull businesse at randon; and yet we will take our times to talke with God in secret, or at publique prayer and thinke long to be at it. If wee haue a charge, wee may not neglect it; yet well may we thinke, that any act of deuotion is more noble in it selfe, then the manning of a kingdome. Wee will not lye groueling a whole Sabbath till sunne sette, as many Iewes doe; yet let vs not thinke much to labour in our prayer with groaning as king *David* did. And if we cannot doe it seauen times a day as



hee did, yet once a day or a weeke it were noble, and would profit vs much to pray so, as if wee should then dye.

It may bee, yee thinke I impose too much vpon yee now, when I thrust these things into matter of saluation. But mistake mee not I beseech you. I know yee bee stout men and valiant, and yee stand vpon your gentry, but if yee be not good men also (as I thinke ye are) all your stoutnesse is nothing. He is a stout man, that is a good man, and I shew you but some tokens how to know when yee are as you should be. It is true. Christ is our saluation and redemption. But how? *Fac hoc & vines*; somewhat there is must bee done on our part. And it will not be done without *Labour*. We must decline from euill, and doe good, and both these will cost labour. And if yee thinke these little things, that I haue spoken of; yee must remember with all, what the Holy Ghost doth teach vs: *Qui spernit modica, paulatim decidet*, they that set light by litle things, by litle shall decay. Neither are they so little, as they can be done without labour. If wee repent vs of our sinnes; is this all? Saint *Ambrose* tels vs, that hee knewe many repencers, but fewe that did the workes that belongs to it. If we fast, is this enough? our Prophet tels vs in another place, that our willes are founde in our fastings. *We labour* not to weede out our owne willes, nor to seuer our sowre leauen from that which is pure. God lookes not on the stoutnesse of our person, or highnesse of our worke, but on our lowlinesse and meekenes withall: and loues vs more for one act of Mortification, then if wee gained him thousands; yea although it were the whole kingdome of *Turkie*. One temptation well encountred, or passion ouercome, is more glorious in his sight, then all the conquests of *Iulius Caesar*, or the triumph of *Emilius*. And this is the labour God requires of vs, and I exhort yee to. This the labour our Prophet speaketh of, and hath Saturity. And the want of this Labour brings that heauy sentence vpon vs, which fewe doe marke, or take note of. I beseech you marke what our Sauour saith to this purpose. *Multi querunt intrare* (saith he) *& non poterunt*, Many shall seeke to enter heauen and cannot. What a saying is this, that many shall seeke to

Luk. 10.

Ecd. 9. 19.

Esay 58.

1. Cor. 5.

1. Reg. 16.

Luk. 13. 24



enter and cannot enter ? whom will not such a sentence terrifie, or not make him, or compell him to stirre about this businesse, although he were halfe dead ? but what is the reason of this sentence ? No other but this . They seeke and sit still. They goe forward, but mend no pace; the bridegroome is come, and gone the whilest. They cannot abide to sweate at it, or take paines. They cry *Domine, Domine*, and will not put out their hand. The Labour is not hard, yea the burthen light, and yet they will not lye vnder it. It is little more paines then to see a play : and yet they will not doe the one, when they doe the other daily. The Play-house doore is lowe, and narrow, and yet they sticke not to stoope, and rend their cloathes with crowding. It is beset with bills and halberds, and they may haue a knocke, and yet they feare nothing. They may loose their purses or somewhat else, and yet they will aduenture. It will cost them money when they enter, and a great many sit vneasie for their money, or in danger of infection, and yet they weigh it not. Who labours for heauen thus ? who seekes heauen so laboriously, feares no difficulty, scornes no disgrace, sets light by losse, or a blowe, biddes for the best place, and will haue no nay vntill they bee in it ? They that seeke heauen thus, shall bee sure to enter. And they that seeke it not thus ; the sentence is ginen *non poterunt*, they doe but goe by, and looke at the place ; but they cannot goe in, as our Sauour saith. And this may suffice for the second point, which was *Labour and Saturity*, whereby to stirre you, and hasten you, in your way to heauen. There be two things belong to haste. The one is to know the readiest way : the next to loose no time in our speede, if the matter bee of importance. There is nothing imports vs more, then our heauenly inheritance. And I haue shewne the next way thither out of the Prophet *Esay* by holy vertuous life, hearing, reading, and often receiuing, which I prooued to be vnderstood by this word *Bread*, in respect of all the properties of *Bread* that are found therein. The worth of which bread hath beene declared vnto yee, as also what *Saturity* and true contentment is ; and who they bee that labour, and come short of it. I haue not beene trouble-  
some

come to you, to inueigh against vanities, or loue of the world. Ye haue store of bookes concerning that matter. I haue not declaimed of worldly contentments, how far they bee from true contentments; yea rather thornes, as our Sa-  
 uiour calles them; or affliction of spirit as *Salomon* tearmes Mat. 13.  
Eccl. 1. them. Euery sermon yee heare is full of this Argument, whereunto I referre you. And therefore if yee should like to loue them, or set your heart on them, beeing so base as they bee; in vaine yee hasten forward, that goe so cleane backward. In vaine yee flye vpward with so heauy a clogge at your heele; and in vain do I perswade you to make haste, that will not doe a way first, what will hinder you of your journey? Haue ye riches? loue thē loosely, & part with them willingly, if neede bee. Haue yee pleasures? vse them moderately in godly feare. Haue ye honour, and preheminance? keepe watch with your selues ouer pride, and disdaine; and let all that know you, make account of you, that yee bee as humble, as honourable. And so, if yee can carry your contentments in this sort, as God bee the practicall ground, in whom alone is our true *Satis*, or contentment; then are yee vndoubtedly in your true, and perfect way to heauen, and nothing remaineth now, but that yee make haste, and take comfort in it. Howbeit for that in our best actions, and endeauours, that we haue in our way to God; our spirits bee often times dull, and haue neede of quickening: for as it is written, our body corruptible weigheth downe our soule, Sap. 9. and hindreth haste exceedingly. It shall be our next and last point, that I will entreate of; to say somewhat of the ioyes in heauen; that may waken vs when wee slumber, remember vs when wee forget; and spurre vs forward to amend our pace, when wee begin to stand still. But this I will reserue vntill our next meeting. I will trouble you no further now.

FINIS.







# THE SECOND

*Oration.*

vpon Panis Angelorum.



Began the other day with *Bread*, and now I will end with *Bread*. I began with *Bread of Travellers*. I will end with *Bread of Angels*. The best dish, I haue reserued for last ; the bread the Angels feede on for euer. The other bread which wee haue spoken of, was a preparatiue for this bread, and this the reward of that : to sit at board with angels, to eate angels' meate. Not the meate that was brought the *Israelites* by the ministry of angels, and perished ; but that which angels themselves doe feede on, in sight of their maker. And how farre better is this, then to sit with *Princes*, or to be fellowes with *Potentates* ? This is it must bee the reward of our Labours, this the *Saturity*, which nothing can be added vnto. The very reward, that holy *Moses* looked after, and now hath to his fill. As it is written, *Moses beheld his reward*. His eye was still vpon this reward, and so ouercame with ease the hardnes he sustained vpon mountaines, and rocks, for forty yeares together ; and what he endured in all his time there, the tongue of man cannot expresse.

Heb. i. i.

Hee was one that walked perfectly in the wayes of God  
G 3 alwaies,



alwayes, and therefore was wotthy to talke with God face to face. *Mitisimus super terram* : not a milder, or an humbler that euer liued vpon earth. And yet the better to hold out through all afflictions to the end, *aspiciebat remunerationem*, hee was glad to looke at his reward; and to remember often, what he should haue for his paines in the end. S.

Rom. 8.

*Paul* likewise had his eye that way, that he said, that all wee can suffer in this world, cannot deserue the glory, that attends vs in the world to come. But how did *Saint Paul*; or how did *Moses* know this? were they euer to see it? certaine it is, they had some illustrations more then other? because their loue of God was greater, and their paines in Gods seruice much more then others. The one was rauished into the third heauens; the other saw the back-parts of God, as the Scriptures make mention. By which I inferre, if such noble sparkes as these had neede of these comforts, and to reflect sometimes vpon their reward: How much more wee, that are of the latter brood, borne as it were in the wayne of the world, and comming short a great deale of their spirit and feruour; had we neede I say, to thinke one it often, and to beare continually the ioyes of heauen in our minde; yea, to keepe (if it might be) a true picture of them alwaies before our eyes, for feare of forgetting. For thus it is with vs. If we forget them, we are like to hazzard them, if we remember them, they are like to be our owne.

2. Cor. 12.

Exod. 33.

Deut. 32.

There be foure last things, that we are taught to beare in minde, and wee shall neuer sinne; whereof heauen is the principall. Death, iudgement and hell are very needefull also to be thought of, because it is good for vs to feare, as well as loue. These indeede doe fill vs with feare and terror; but heauen filles vs with loue and ardent desire. Hell driues to God; heauen drawes to God. Hell whips vs with horror; heauen hales vs with beauty. Loue & feare are both of them profitable I say, but loue is more acceptable to God, because it is his owne prime, and originall quality, who dreads nothing, and all things dread him.

It seemeth (my deare louers and friends) yee looke that I should somewhat say of the ioyes of heauen, what they bee, and



and so it were fit, if I were able to performe it. But mee think when I enter into so great a matter, I am stricken on a suddaine with barrennesse, and know not how to expresse my selfe, or where to begin. For I must speake of that, which I doe but wincke at a farre off, neither can I well tell, what credit I shall haue with you, to philosophate vnto you of most excellent colours, which I neuer sawe but darkening. For if *S. Paul* could not tell vs that little which he saw, nor yet *Moses*; nor, if any other Saint haue beene there, and come againe to life, as *S. Gregory* writes of one *Felix*: in Dial. much lesse shall I be able, that neuer came neere that place, to delineate vnto yee any thing with my rude pensill, that shall bee worth your expectation. *Saint Paul* calls them *Ar-* 2. Cor. 12.  
*cana*, hidden misteries, that are kept vnder seale from vs, and such as we may not aspire to knowe, vntill we come there; and much lesse to tell, no not with the tongue of an angell. The best that I can bring you, will bee but a reflexion of a reflexion, or a peece of the Sunnes glory by night in the body of the Moone. And yet since ye are come to heare, and I haue vndertaken to say somewhat, I will bee bold to say what I knowe, and no more; I leaue greater misteries to them, that are better learned.

Our reward in heauen (sure) is admirably great: but what it is, or in what fashon, that we may say it is thus and thus, no man can deliuer. Two things I knowe, and am assured of touching heauen, and heauenly ioyes; that is to say, the greatnesse of them when we come there, and the neerenesse of them while we bee heere: which may bee also no small comfort vnto vs; and of these two I will speake a little, after my wonted breuity, leauing the rest to your good thoughts when I haue done. If your faith were like to his, that said *iustus ex fide uiuit*; wee should feele this greatnes we speake of before we come at it; our very soule would reioyce, and triumph in it, before it could expresse why. If our faith I say were so liuely, and springing as it might be, our tongues would not list to speake, but our very deedes, actions, and behauiours, would shew heauen in our faces. Our very countenance would bewray heauen in vs. There is nothing would

Abac. 2.  
Rom 2.



disturbe vs, no anger disquiet vs, no passion distemper vs, no ill fortune beare vs downe; but as we shall bee when wee come there, so shall we begin to bee, while we be heere, constant, stout, resolute in all good purposes like *Elias* or *Elizeus*, or *Saint Iohn Baptist*, and a multitude of others after the new testament. But I shall speake more of this anon. Our faith and spirit is not of that *vinacity*, that theirs was of; nor haue we apprehensions of heauens delights, but by such *similies*, and resemblances, as we can make by visible things; by which we haue a ghesse, or estimate at the greatnesse we speake of, and yet come short of it by infinite degrees.

I cannot tell how to expresse this greatnesse better then by one word; a long word full of matter, and makes vp a verse alone. *Incomprehensibility*. The sum of our felicity. For we must know for a certainty, that the greatnesse of our reward, that is to say, of heauen, is incomprehensible of any mortall vnderstanding. But why so? doe wee not reade of some that haue seen e heauen, or paradise in a traunce, or extasie, and comming to themselues againe, haue told what they saw there? delicate green meddowes with siluer streams and golden sands in the bottome running through the midst of them; the bankes beset with violets, and primroses, that neuer partch with heate, nor perish with treading on; the weather temperate, alwayes *Aprill* with them.

*Cooler without cold, day without night,  
Sunne full of shade, shade full of light.*

Is not this comprehensible? gardens full of all sweeteflow-ers, daintily drest without mans labour, the rose without thornes neuer fading, pinckes and lillies of all fresh colours neuer decaying, spring and haruest comming alwayes together, blooming and bearing all at a time; nothing there but wish, and haue it, from the chirping bird of rarest feature, to the lowde organ, or musicke of the best harmony; these and such like haue beene reuealed to some good folk. Are not these also comprehensible? and yet we said, that heauen is incomprehensible.



We shall there behold the humanity of Christ & his blessed mother the glorious Virgin, whom to see in flesh, wee could trauell the world round, if they were liuing; such comfort wee should finde of it. For, if that notable Law-maker of *Megapolis* thought long to dye, and tooke pleasure to thinke, he should then see *Pythagoras*, *Euclid*, and other famous men deceased: how much more pleasure will it be to vs, to see *Iesus*, whom we all serue and honour: whose name alone makes hearts to leape, and diuells to tremble, in power so triumphant, so sweet and amiable in aspect, and so alluring to all beholders, that we shall not <sup>loose</sup> off on him, after wee come once to see him. And is not this comprehensible?

Circidas.

This heauen we speake of was reuealed to *S. Iohn* in forme of a city, twelue thousand furlongs in length, as many in breadth, and as many in height, all the twelue gates of it, were entire pearle, the streetes paved with gold, and the walles of the same pure gold, and smoothe like christall: on the bottome whereof, grewe all kinde of pretious stones, whereof twelue are named. It had no temple; for the temple was God himselfe. Hee sawe a Riuer also of liuing water, cleere as christall, springing out of the seate of God, and the lambe. This, and a great deale more he sawe in spirit; and is not all this comprehensible?

Apoc. 21.

I gaue you the other day fve properties of bread. Wherein I tolde you nothing aboue your reach, but yee might plainly vnderstand them to bee in our bread of Trauellers. And I can make it as plaine to you, how they bee also as euident, and farre more certaine in our bread of Angels. The substance of our traueilling bread was the grace of God in word, and workes. The substance of our Angelicall bread is his grace also, not in faith, but in fruite; not in workes, but in reward. His grace is with vs heere but in hope, there, in certaine knowledge; heere in trembling, there in true possessing. Heere wee may fall againe, there, neuer. This grace of God in heauen, shall bee his eye of glory vpon vs alwaies. The masters eye makes a fat beast, and the eye of God vpon vs incessantly, makes faire creatures, and not inferiour to Angels. And this was the first propertie to feede



vs, and nourish vs, *Qui pascit inter lillia*, He shall feede vs amongst Lillies and Angels.

The second property was to make purest blood in vs. We shall not looke like our earthly complexions. No grosse humours or drosse shall approach vs. How pure shall wee be? As pure as Angels. Our bodies like glasse transparent, *Sine macula aut ruga*, All manner of spots will bee taken out of vs, and euery wrinckle made plaine. A third quality of bread was to be loued of all. And who shall behold that sparkling eye of God, and shall not be enamoured with it? *Vulnerasti cor meum in vno oculorum tuorum*, Our hearts will bee wounded with that alluring eye. It shall not bee like our loues heere, which are more in clayming, then in obtaining, and after a while wee care not for them. Beleeue me : not so in heauen. And all this is comprehensible.

Cant. 4.

Now what should I speake how common this bread is in heauen, which was the fourth property? This bread of Seraphins, ô how easily it is gotten, and without asking? Common I say, for euery one shall haue enough. Neither shall the commonnesse, or hauing without asking make the reward more vile. For euery one shall reioyce that another hath the same, or more then he. The fore-finger is graced with that the little finger weares.

I keepe still within compasse of your capacity. And to omit the fift property, which is not in heauen, where none can euer be at losse, or fall from good estate: I passe to a sixt property, which is in our Angels bread, and was not in the other. There is no doubt, but we shall haue our taste in heauen, as other our senses, but in greater vse and perfection. And if we could make a peece of bread to taste in our mouth of what wee list, like a peare, or pearmaine, a cherry, a plumbe, or a peece of marmalet, wee would thinke it an excellent thing. Behold, our Angels bread tastes of God; and in God is euery good taste. No amber or ciuet so sweete as hee, no conserue so preseruatine, no *codinik* so delectable. Is not all this also comprehensible? How is it then that we say, heauen is incomprehensible?

And yet we must make our saying good, that it is indeed incom-



prehensible. All our amplifying is nothing *absque eo, quod intrinsecus latet*, All is nothing to that which is hidden, as the louer said of his loue in the Canticles. It is hidden from vs most, that shall delight vs most. Fewe of all these are there, that I haue spoken of. Buildings, and walles of gold, no such thing there; no greene meddowes, or siluer streames; no musicke, or melody, such as euer we heard, or knew. All these bee base, to that wee shall finde there. And yet our senses heere attaining no higher matter of pleasure: these things are said to bee there, that wee most desire, and haue greatest luster heere. And which if wee finde not there, in these kinds, yet are we not deceiued; because we shall finde them there in another kind wee know not of, fīue hundred times better, and without all comparīson greater.

Cant. 4.

Grana. de  
Symb.

And this doe they that bee learned call *Theologiam negativam*. Because all that we can say heere of heauen and heauenly things in the affirmatiue, wee may boldly deny and say, there is no such thing there. For our bodies it is cleere, wee shall be bright, quicke, nimble, subtile, full of noble perfections, such as we can aske no more. But for things without vs, how wee shall finde them, no man can iustly say. No such light as wee apprehend, no such mirth or feasting, no pearle or pretious gemes there; no palace of pleasure with Bricks or pauements of gold; no such odours for the smell, or dainty notes to our eare; or gustfull things to our pallat, as wee haue them heere. But on the contrary; if we say what is nōt there, that is euill and troublesome heere: all that we may boldly say to be literally true. No affliction there, no feare of any thing, no sorrow or lamentation, no weeping or wayling, nor any thing that can grieue. This flesh of ours shall not bee heauy, lumpish, or drowfie, mortall, passible, corruptible, or subiect to torment, not so much as to a finger-ake. All this wee are sure shall nōt be, and wee shall nōt haue; but what else wee shall finde there, or what heauen is in the affirmatiue, it is wholly concealed from vs, vntill wee come there. And therefore, as to our present knowledge, and to our now capacity; if wee should take vpon vs to define, or describe heauen what it is, I know not how to doe it better,



then to say thus : Heauen is that which it is nôt ; and it is nôt that, which it is.

And with this agreeth a saying of Saint *Paul*. For whatsoever wee say or affirme of heauen out of the Scriptures, fathers, reuelations, or visions that good people haue had, and I should stand to recite heere till night : yet notwithstanding he tels vs absolutely, *In cor hominis non ascendit*, It neuer came vp into our heart, and much lesse into our tongue, to thinke or say, what it is. And to say the truth, it were a great imperfection in heauens perfection, that it should be like any thing heere, or we in our mortality capable of any thing there : more then this in generall, that it is a vision of God, and that wee shall bee so delighted with this heauenly, and blisfull gaze when wee come there, that when wee haue beheld him incessantly as many thousand yeares, as there be minutes of howres in a thousand yeares; hee will still bee as new to vs, as if wee had neuer seene him before ; and wee still more thirsty after his diuine contemplation, then euer wee were of drinke after a hot daies iourney. Howbeit to say now what this felicity is, or rather in what sort we shall apprehend God, or in what part, or power of vs this feeling pleasure shall consist, when wee come to see Christ, and glorified friends, we neither know, nor can know heere.

No doubt, the apprehension wee shall haue of him, shall bee in our vnderstanding soule. But whether in such sort, as it is in other knowledges, or whether the difference will be *Specificall* or no, I know not. Wee heare of many delicate fruites in strange countries, apples, pearces, or plumbes, of most excellent taste, and verdure. The outsides are described to vs, both for colour, shape, and bignesse. But none can tell vs the sweetenesse, or delightfull relish of them within, vntill wee taste. Onely this we know, that our sense can iudge of them when we haue them ; and we shall neede no new addition to our senses perfection to taste them. But when wee come to so infinite an object as God is ; shall we not neede a new vnderstanding thinke yee ? *Novos cœlos, nouam terram*, and *ecce noua facio omnia*. God will make all things



things new. And shall not wee haue a new intellect also, to vnderstand so new, so rare, and so vnspeakeable a mystery? but I leaue it. It is not for nothing, that he saith, *in cor hominis non ascendit*. It neuer came into mans heart what God hath prepared there, for those that loue him, as they should doe heere.

And it is not onely the vision of God, which the Apostle speaks of here; but also of the particular ioyes, and accidentall glories, ensignes, and lawrels, that Saints shall haue giuen them there, after as their fight, and combate was here. To Martyrs such a one, to confessors such a one, to virgins, and other, such as it pleaseth him. Doctors, and Preachers, that labour to gaine soules, shall haue their peculiar cognizance of glory. And so shall Kings, Princes, and Magistrates that gouerne well, and labour the publique good with their eye alwaies to God-ward. And all you that bee military, yee shall not want yours also, that feare no blowes, but are ready to execute for the good of your countrey. All which particular glories, what they shall be, and of what fashion our liueries, or new kinde of vesture; or of what colour our ensignes, and lawrels in our hands, and a thousand things besides; and how inestimably delightfull they will be to vs, and gracefull in the sight of others; neither eye hath seene, nor eare heard, nor hath it ascended into the heart of man *quæ preparauit* saith he. He saith not *quod preparauit*. For God hath prepared many things for vs, according to our many vocations and diuers imployments wee receiued of his goodnesse in this his Millitant Church.

And here I shall desire you instantly to note well the words of this blessed Apostle, when he saith thus: *in cor hominis non ascendit*, it ascended not into mans heart, or came not so high as mans heart. Why did hee not say it came not downe, or descended not into mans heart, but ascended not into mans heart? Are heauenly things belowe vs, that hee should say, they ascended not into our hearts? Christ ascended into heauen. Heauen is aboue vs. *Ad te domine leuaui oculos*. When wee pray for any thing, we looke vpward,

Psal. 122.



and aske it from aboue. And when it comes to vs; it descends, and comes downe to vs, not ascends to vs; and yet the Apostle saith, it hath not ascended. The greeke word is *ἀνέβη. ascendit.* How can they ascend or come vp to vs, that are so farre aboue vs? this word me thinkes hath a mystery in it, and very fitte for our purpose, to shew the greatness we speake of.

There is no contentment in this world, but if it come to affect vs, and to possesse our heart, it ascends to our heart, and comes from belowe our heart; it comes from vnder vs, and for the most part, from vnder our very feete. We tread on them, and they are all vnder vs. Great lands and possessions, faire houses, parkes, and pallaces; they come all from vnder vs, and were earth, and clay first, before they came to this magnificence. Their furniture of silke arrasse, and beddes of gold; all that we carry on our backs, or decke our heads, or necks withall when we be at the richest with stone, and pearle, and coffers full of treasure, that are made so much of; whence comes all this, but out of barren earth, or the bottome of the sea, sought for, and tumbled out by the toyle of man from the bowels of the earth, that are so farre beneath vs. Againe, if our contentment bee in belly cheere, all comes likewise from the lowest elements. Nothing lower then the earth, and water, which they feede on, before they come to feede vs. And therefore if they come so neere our heart, as to be loued by vs; we loue that which is lower, and baser then our selues, and they must ascend a great height vnto vs, to be as high as our hearts.

Yea let vs goe to higher elements and so vpward to the toppe of *primum mobile*; let them be neuer so high aboue yet are they vnder vs by Gods ordination, who made them, to serue vs. And if we delight in them, & in the study of them as to contemplate their motions, and influences, and all their varieties, that are most pleasant to think on, and haue holden Philosophers all their liues time: all these may bee said, and are in the number of those that ascend to vs; our heart, and best part being Lord of them, and they our subjects, and inferiours. The consideration of starres, and planets



nets, with their brightnesse, and beauty, pure substance, and greatnesse, and the orbes they are carried in, the swiftnesse of their motion without noyse, their change without disorder, their various aspects without confusion; all these and a great deale more come vnder the heart of man; & though they appeare much higher then wee, that goe lowe by the grounde vnderneath them; yet may they truly bee saide to ascend to vs: yea all that God made in his sixe dayes worke, be they neuer so rich, or excellent, neuer so high in their situation, yet are they beneath the soule, or thought of man, and are homagers to this little world of our vnderstanding; and they cannot be so great, but our thought is greater, they cannot be so high, or tall, but our vnderstanding will compasse them, and is higher and taller then they. Onely the ioyes of heauen are higher then our apprehension; and therefore Saint *Paul* saith, they ascend not into our thought, or heart, as all things else doe, because we are made to ascend to them, and vntill then, wee are not capeable of them, no not of the least of them.

Behold here the greatnesse of heauenly rewards, our heart, and minde, our soule, and vnderstanding, that is capeable of all things, that are in the world; and all things ascend to it, as to their commander; yet knoweth it not the least thing in heauen, as it is indeede. The witte of man doth pierce the most hidden and abstruse things that are in nature; and yet cannot fasten vpon the least, and lowest things aboue nature. It is a wonderfull thing, that there is almost nothing, that escapeth our knowledge, but is laid open by vs, & we can teach it them, that know it not. Who was there euer that went down to the center of the earth to take measure of it; and yet wee can prooue by iust demonstration, how many mile it is thither, and how many about the whole earth, and neuer stirre foote? Who was euer carryed so high as the Moone? who hath walked among the planets and firmament, to know their motions and distances one from another, the bignesse of the Sunne and Moone; and their heights from the earth? yet all this is knowne, and the professors of that science are so well acquainted



with the lawes, and rules of that *Celestiall* common-wealth, as if they had beene borne and bredde there. Their yearly *Ephimerides* doe shew the certaintie of their knowledge pointing vs to the very degree, and minute, where to finde a starre, or what time of day, or night an Ecclips will be, and how many points it will be darkened an hundred yeares hence.

It is not vnknowne to any, what a multitude of hidden matters are reuealed, and lye open to the Philosopher, and what an Anatomy hee hath made of nature, and naturall things. And not so contented, hath transcended nature, with his *metaphisicall* knowledge, and lets not God himselfe lye wholly hidden, but brings him out into light. Who taught *Aristotle* and *Plato* that God was eternall, infinite of greatnesse, infinite in power, the first moouer, one, and no more but one? But it is not my purpose to speake of all sciences that haue beene laboured, and perfected, by man, euery one of them so full of mistery, variety, and delight, as nothing more. Which although it greatly commend Gods goodnes and bounty towards vs, in that hee hath made out of dust, and ashes a creature so capeable, and piercing by his owne permission euen into his owne substance and nature: yet so hath he limited this knowledge of ours, that we are not able to imagine what he is indeede *Sicuti est*, nor how great the meanest thing that belongs to vs, and shall be ours in the world to come, if God makes vs worthy. We haue not onely not seene or heard, but neither can we ghesse in thought, *in cor hominis non ascendit*, what it is.

If the least thing then in heauen be so great, what is all heauen? what is God, who is the summe and substance of all reward, and felicitie? We that be Christians, haue much more knowledge then heathens had. Our light of reason is doubled with our light of faith annexed therunto; by which wee both see more then we see with our eye; & what we beleeue, we beleeue more, then had we seen with eie. What seek wee more? We beleeue that heauen is truely great, and our reward vnspeakeably great. What seeke we further into the secrets of God, to know how? Let vs not be curious in matters



matters not belonging to vs yet. Let vs not destroy faith with too much curiositie? If God would condescend to giue vs a sight of heauen, and of our glory there, we should rather refuse it with humilitie, then expect it with importunitie. Wee should rather say to him, *Satis domine*; thy promise is as much to me Lord, as if I were there to see it. It is enough to me, that I knowe it is so. O let me not see, vntill it please thee to call. This should be our speech to God; and much heede wee ought to take, that we diminish not his faith with least doubt of his promise, or desire to haue it prooued by sence. Sence knowledge, derogats from faith knowledge. If we see it once, it is faith no more. And wee may offend in it ere wee bee aware. For hee that searcheth into Maiestie, shall bee overcome of glory. As *Pro. 25* much to say, as he that will enter into Gods counsell before hee be called; shall be punished as *Phaeton* was; his owne pride will ouerthrowe him. This alone may suffice for the greatnesse of our reward; yee apprehend it with faith, and that is enough, yea a great deale more, then any eloquence in the world can paint vnto you.

I omit therefore to speake of many things besides that would expresse this greatnesse. As also of the many names, whereby it is called in holy writ, and ancient fathers: which would greatly testifie the greatnesse of it. As where it is called *Mons pacis*, the Mountaine of peace, where no disquiet or brabble can reach at vs; and that which *Princes* haue much adoe to performe with all their power and policie, is there done with ease. No warre or dissention can approach this hill, where hearts and mindes are all one; one will in all, and there is not found a second. It is called *Domus dei*, The house of God: Or if ye will, Gods court, and wee his courtiers, or seruants in ordinary: or if yee will, Gods hospitall, and wee his olde souldiers, when age hath weakened vs, infirmity disabled vs, and death put downe the barre, that we may fight no more. O happy they that can get a place there: where al sit rent free; shal haue oile for their wounds, ease for cumber, pleasure for their paine, and all things prouided for their hand, and can neuer say, this they want, or this they



Apoc. 3. would haue more. Heauen is called also new Hierusalem ; and well may it bee so called. For olde Hierusalem is in the enemies hands, while all good people groane, and will neuer linne grieuing (I feare) till God shall make them free of the new.

Mat. 5. It is many times called *regnum coelorum*, the kingdome of  
 Mat. 19. heauen, Let vs consider of this world a little. A king and a  
 Luk. 7. kingdome are relatiues. And he that hath a kingdome must needes bee a king. What is a kingdome worth if a man should buy it? or who hath price enough to buy a kingdome with? It is a rare fortune to rise of nothing to be kings, and yet such fortune some haue had. *Saul, David, Ieroboam, Iehu, Darius*, aud diuers Emperours ; and it is not euery ones fortune: yet may it be euery ones fortune to haue a farre greater in heauen ; and it lyeth in his owne will. Hee may haue his crowne there, his robes and purple there, and those more glorious there then we can imagine heere. And in this sence  
 Iac. 3. *S. Iames* doth call vs heires of the kingdom that God did promise, & *S. Paul* doth likewise call vs heires of God, and ioynt heires with Christ; & more then this, he saith, we shall reigne together with him. For kings are not there, as they be heere; where one crowne royall none can haue but one. *Non bonares multi domini rex unicus esto*, Two kings in a kingdome will neuer stand long. In heauen quite contrary. It is no disgrace to a king to haue many fellowes. Yea Angels themselves reioyce exceedingly, and Christ our Lord disdaineth not to set vs by him, and to communicate his crowne with vs. Saint *Paul*s word is *conregnabimus*, We shall bee fellow kings with him ; this were treason heere.

But wee must knowe, that by this word king are vnderstood two great titles. The one of necessity ; the other of honour : the one a title of paine, and charge, begotten of common good, for preserving of peace, and iustice among men ; the other a title of honour, and greatnesse, deserued by themselves, or their ancestours, or both. In the right of the one, he carrieth a sword *ad vindiectam* ; in right of the other, he weareth a Crowne on his head as a conquerour. The one needlesse in heauen, where all be good; the other needfull

1 Pet. 2.

Apoc. 20.

19.

ibid. 44.



in heauen to despite the diuell, and them that be bad. And this kingly honour, no king hath more on earth, then soules haue in heauen; who acknowledge no superiour there but God, as kings doe heere. Onely, their crownes differ, the one is of gold, the other is of glory; they differ also not a little in there estates, the one is for life, the other for euer. 1. Pet. 5.

And therefore in our creede it is called by another name, *Vita aeterna*, or life euerlasting. Our estate in our kingdome there, is for life, but wee shall liue for euer. How farre better this then your fee simple heere, which yee say, yee haue for euer, yet cannot haue longer then for life, nor so long neither many times. And if they that follow you waste it, where is your fee simple. It may rightly bee called fee simple, a simple for euer. But ours not so; it will bee for euer; which no violence can wrest from vs, no rust or moth weare away, no time nor oldenesse wrinkle or disfigure, no sickenesse consume, no wrong hazzard, or misinformation call in question. Our estate there pure, perfect, and indefeazable, tyed to no condition, charged with no incumbrance, or feare of forfeiture. Subiect to no law like a king; no mans vassall, and doing no mans will, but our owne, and ours none of our owne, but Gods.

What an inexplicable greatnesse is this? and yet I cannot leaue it so: the more I haue said, the more me thinke I haue to say. But I will bound my selfe to one or two considerations more, and so ende for this point. I may not forget to tell you the price of heauen, and scarcety of buyers, that will giue any thing neere the worth of it. Both which but briefly considered will not a little aduance the greatnesse we haue in hand. By the price, that is giuen for a commodity, wee may ghesse at the worth of it. If a thousand pound bee giuen for a purchase, wee esteeme it at fifty a yeare. If a million be giuen we esteeme it at fifty thousand a yeare. The price of heauen is set downe by a cunning surueyor of those matters, Saint *Augustine*, *Tantum valet, quantum es* saith he. It is as much worth, as thy selfe: that is to say, all that thou hast, and art. And so is it prized by the Sonne of God; who likened heauen to a pretious pearle, which a certaine

Mat. 13<sup>3</sup>



Lib. 9. cap.  
35.

Jeweller finding, *Vendidit omnia sua, & comparavit eam*, hee sould all that hee had to buy it. Because it was worth all he had, he solde all, and bought it. Of all iewels there is none more excellent then an orient pearle. It is *culmen omnium pretiosorum* (saith *Plinie*) nothing more pretious then it. Both is it hardest to counterfeit ; and there is nothing dearer, or higher prized then it. The *Queene* of Spaine had one giuen her at *Florence* was valued by good Lapidaries at thirtie thousand pounds sterling. *Ferdinand Cortes* that conquered *Mexico*, had one at his eare valued at all the king of Spaines treasure, that had euer come from the *Indies* to that time. Which exceeded far the price of any *Diamond* that euer I heard of.

Iob. 2.

Now if I should say, that this were the price of heauen; I should come short of it by farre. For the price of the poorest life is more then this. *Cuncta quæ habet homo, dabit pro anima sua*, A man will giue all hee hath for his life. Yet how many liues haue bin giuen, or ioyfully lost for this heavenly pearle by holy Martyrs ? Is not this an admirable greatnes, that should be worth a mans life, enen a kings life and all his kingdome, if he be a king ? For by this text, a life comprehends all. Yet all this is litle to that. I can say ~~no~~ more. What if I can prooue it to be worth the life of God himselfe? yea, what should I neede to prooue so manifest a truth, which all wee that bee Christians are bound to beleue ? I would wee could as sensibly feele it, as we truely conceit it. The life of God himselfe was giuen for it. *Adam* once had morgaged it, and made a forfeit of it, and our heavenly father sent downe a price for it, his onely Sonne to redeeme it. Ye are redeemed (saith Saint *Peter*) not with corruptible gold, or corruptible siluer, but with the pretious blood of the immaculate lambe. And this is *pretium magnum* (saith S. *Paul*). And well might hee call it a great price ; for it is an infinite price : whereupon I inferre thus. To recouer our lost inheritance cost an infinite price ; but an infinite price must bee for an infinite greatnes, therefore our inheritance must be of infinite greatness ; then which, what is or can be greater.

1. Pet. 3.

2. Cor. 6.

And if this be not enough to stir your affections towards it,



it, or to possesse you thoroughly of this greatnesse by the greatnesse of the price, that hath beene giuen for it: Rayse your imagination a little, and thinke with your selues; that yee see God in flesh. Thinke that his noble presence were in the midst of you. Beholde his person, beholde his face, and yee shall see the greatnes of heauen in it. In a little round glasse, ye may see the firmament aboue yee; and in the compasse of his face yee may see whole heauen. That ouerioyed face, with seeing heauens beauty; that euer sorrowed face, that his flesh might not come there yet. I am griued saith he, till it come to passe. That auerted face from all Luc. 12. worldly contentment; that scornfull face to all earthly promotion, which he neither had time to thinke on, nor yet thought worth his care, in respect of that greatnesse that was alwayes glittering in his eye.

Gold to him shewed no brighter then Counters, hee would not touch it. Plenty with him no greater then the poore mans boxe; more then that, was distastfull. Pleasures to him no sweeter then blowes; nothing could drawe his eye from the Radiant splendor aboue him. All his riches was in that sacred eye of his. No pleasure here belowe but among Prou. 8. the poorer sort, to sit and conuerse with them. *Delicia mea cum Filijis hominum*, His delight was among the sonnes of men, to shew them this greatnes, and to hold vp his finger to them. And like as he was, so were his Apostles, so his disciples, so his disciples disciples, and all their descendents in Psal. 44. spirit, to this very day. *Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi Filij*, As the parents looke, so looke their children. We see Christ in them, and heauen in Christ. Carnall children are like their parents for a discent or two, but spirituall children for euer. They neuer loose the countenance of their *Protoplast*, or the first shape, or fauour of their founder. As Christ looked so Psal. 10. looke ours, As Christ conuerst so conuerse ours. *Nolite tangere Christos meos*. Wee may be bolde to call them another Christ, to see heauen in their faces, if our eye be not very naught.

But now I feare me I must change my song to speake of



the last point ; which is the fewnesse of Buyers. I began with a *Comedy* and must end with a *Tragedie*. But I will be the shorter. Yet somewhat I must say : and although it seeme contrary to somewhat I said before ; yet hath it an argument in it, of the greatnes wee speake of. I tolde you euen now, that it is called your kingdome, *paratum vobis regnum*, A kingdome prouided for you, from before the beginning of the world. I tolde you it was euery bodies fortune that list, to be a king in heauen ; yet heere I say it is almost no mans fortune, the number of them is so passing small, that shall come there. Hardly one of the twentie or rather of fortie thousand that shall be saued throughout the world. I thinke before Christ came, scarce one of a Million. The fault is their owne I graunt, that they be not kings ; but the fault is so vniuersall, that fewe can auoid it.

For the truth whereof, consider with me a little, what multitudes haue beene in the world since the first age, and what multitudes haue died, and bin slaine in a day, or neere together, and none saued. Wee read of *Senacharibs* army one hundred fourescore and fifteene thousand slaine in a night, all heathens. *Cyrus* and two hundred thousand of his slain in one battel, besides his enemy *Scythiās* neere as many more, all heathen on both sides. Of *Persians* two hundred thousand slaine at one time by *Melciades* the *Athenian* Duke, besides his owne, all heathen on both sides. Of *Armenians* and others, three hundred thousand foote, and horse were slaine almost together by *Lucullus*, besides his owne side, which was bloody enough, all heathen on both sides.

*Cesar* in person was at the killing of one thousand thousand, one hundred foure-score and tenne thousand, besides a multitude of his owne, and besides them that were slaine in the ciuill warres, which he was ashamed to reckon, all heathens and Idolaters. *Alexander* in three battailes against *Darius* onely, slewe fifteene hundred thousand, besides what else were slaine of his owne side, all heathen people on both sides. The story of the Iewes ouerthrowe at *Ierusalem* is well enough knowne ; where were slaine of them and *Profelites* together (besides forty thousand that went out before

Mat. 25.

4. Reg. 9.

Rex.

Plat. vit.  
Naue.

Rex.

Iosep. de  
Bell. Iud.  
Baroni.



to flye Gods wrath) eleuen hundred thousand persons and aboue, whereof it was thought fewe or none were saued, but died obdurate. Latter histories relate vnto vs infinite battels of all heathens, and some of heathen, and Christians together. *Charles Martell* flew three hundred threescore and fifteene thousand *Sarazens* in a short space; and *Rhodericus* as many, and more. To say nothing of the terrible slaughters in our dayes, betweene *Turkes*, *Moores*, *Persians*, *Muscovites*, *Tartarians* and *Ethiopians*, and such like, all heathens without number, fighting one against another, none of them better then other, all struiuing who should send downe most to their great Master, whom they serued. And they that escaped the sword, were neuer the neerer. They went the same way in the end, and dranke of the same cuppe. To say nothing also of them, that dye of the Murreine, plague or famine euery yeare; tenne thousand carried out of *Cayro* in *Leo. Afer.* a day of the plague, and many other like accidents that wee heare not of.

God died for all: but none haue the benefit of it, but his little brood of the elect: & these were *Israelites*, and *Iewes* before the incarnation, & *Christians* since the incarnation. But what? were all the *Iewes* saued? are all *Christians* partakers of this reward? though God cōfined himself most what to the *Iewish* nation in those dayes, and now to *Christians*; yet very fewe there bee either of them, or vs (in respect of them that miscarry) that shall bee partakers of this so rare, so noble, and so royall a reward. Heauen is not for Gods enemies, or cold friends. The *Iewes* were alwayes so cold of deuotion, so prone to sinne, so grumbling against God, and superiours, that he sware in his anger, they should neuer see his rest. Holy *David* complained in his time how abominable they became in their iniquities, there was none that did good, no not one, in comparison of those that were otherwise. And yet had they then a noble king ouer them, and worthy Priests to gouerne them, and guide them. Saint *Iohn Baptist* also in his time could scarce afford them a faire word, but called them *Vipers broode*. Psal. 94.  
Psal. 13.  
Mat. 3. 12.

Now to speake of *Christians*, that came after; although



Mat 20. the primitiue sort of vs were more hotte, and zealous ; yet  
 Luk. 13. 23. Christ foretold vs for our better warning, that many of vs  
 should be called, and fewe chosen. And in an other place  
 being asked, *Si pauci saluantur*, whether but fewe should be  
 saued ; he seemed to affirme it saying. Striue yee to enter  
 the streight gate. And euen so hath it prooued in all ages.  
 They that were good, were alwayes fewe. In all the olde  
 world, eight persons onely were saued, the rest were drow-  
 ned. What numbers haue there beene of heretiques, and  
 yet are, that haue no part in the kingdome of heauen ? and  
 of those that beleue well, how many be there that liue  
 well ? who delights in Gods seruice, or holds himselfe to  
 howers, and orderly life ? who is there almost, that hath not  
 one fault, to bring him to hell ; and yet will not leaue it, vn-  
 till it leaue him ? how many more be there that haue many  
 faults, giue way to them all, swallow all, till all too late they  
 repent them. The broad way they be in, they like well to go  
 forward in, loue ease, loue security, neuer seeke more, and so  
 dodge on till they die, and dye as they liued.

1 Pet. 3. Very fewe there be indeede, and too too few that be cho-  
 sen. Many runne in the furlong (saith Saint *Paul*) yet but  
 one gets the prize. And why but one amongst many ? hee  
 insinuates a reason a little after, that no man may despaire  
 notwithstanding, to get the goale if he will. His reason is for  
 that scarce one amongst many prepareth for the race, as  
 ,, he should. They be commonly so sloathfull, and drowfie,  
 ,, that they dyet not themselues, they deny not their belly  
 ,, all excessse, inure not their soules to daily practise, and ex-  
 ,, ercise in that heauenly race ; so as they runne, but vncer-  
 tainely, and as it were beating the ayre. All follow vanities,  
 the proiects of their owne hearts, and no man ponders, or  
 considers deeply the greatnesse of this heauenly goale hee  
 runnes for, and therefore looseth it.

Alas we cannot get trifles in the world without care. Yea  
 all the care we can, we bestowe vpon them commonly. But  
 no man bestowes on heauen the least care, come of it, what  
 will. It is an ill dogge they say, that is not worth whist-  
 ling. The most make worse then a dogge of heauenly feli-  
 city



city. They hardly bestowe a sigh on it from their heart in a long time. But it is not my purpose to shew reasons why it is so, that so few be saued. It is enough that wee haue prooued it to bee so, euen amongst the professors of Christianity. O greatnes of heauenly reward. Who shall attaine thy holy hill? Who shall be admitted to sit with Angels? *Omne parclarum rarum*, Euery thing that is excellent in this world, is also rare. If kings were common, and great persons euery where, who could see their greatnesse? Euen so it is of good folke, who are as admirable as rare, whatsoeuer men thinke of them. O happy lot, ô excellent reward. Thy excellency is seene by thy rarenesse, and hard to come by. O worthy of worthies, that the world sets so little by, and is not worthy of. How great art thou in thy height? How great in breadth, and largenesse? Thou art big in place, spacious in thy roomes, large in thy beautifull territories. The earth is little to thee. Hell is nothing to thee. Behold heere an admirable worke of God.

*Heauen* is aboue, neere God. *Hell* belowe neere the Center, as is thought, where most bee, the place is narrowest to receiue them: where fewest Soules bee, there is roome to spare. The number of damned soules is without number beyond those in *Heauen*; and yet their place is infinitely lesse then it in heauen. The way to hell is broad and wide, but narrowe and pinching when one comes there, especially when they come to their bodies againe. Most woefull it is to thinke on, how they will lye thronging and crowding together for want of roome, like bricks, or tyles in a burning kiln, not able or not allowed to stirre hand or foote, if they would neuer so faine, men and women, fatte and leane, little and great, hudling one vpon another confusedly, without respect of age or sexe, or any bodies ranke or place, which they had in this world: with *Heauen* all contrary. The way thither narrow, and streight, and hard to passe it; but when one is there, and hath crowded through the little wicket; he findes a large field, and goes freely where hee will, without end or wearinesse.

The nature of contraries is in cōtrary qualities; hell is litle



in ease, because, there is no ease ; little in pleasure, because it is all in displeasure; little in roome, because it hath no roome for any repose. *Heauen* therefore must needs be great, faire, goodly, bright, beautifull, full of ease, full of repose, euery body would haue ; few will take paines for ; and therefore thousands to one, shall not haue it, as I said before. I doubt not but all men beleeeue as much as I ; or any man can say of this *Angelicall* subiect. And I doubt as little, but they thinke it well worthy of their studie and care, and of their paines and cost, if cost bee needfull for the obtaining of it. But what is the paines that belongs to it, that men, and women so shrink at, and pull in their necks ? Is it losse of life, or limme ? Not so, but in case of Martyrdome. Is it to giue all to the poore ? Not so ; though *Christ* aduise it one, that sought to be perfect. Is it to suffer burning, or paines of hell for it before wee come there ? Not so, and yet Saint *Augustine* wisheth it with all his heart, that hee might feele hell torments a good while together, to bee sure to come thither ; and so doth venerable *Bede*. See what apprehension these had of *Heauens* greatnesse.

Mat. 19.

Medit.

Prou. 26.

What is then the let that stoppes them ? What the paine that terrifies ? What Lyon in the way, that puttes men out of the way ? What spirit or hobgoblin skares them so, that they runne quite contrary, and scarce looke backe againe ? Surely, nothing else in the world, but a loathing, or wearinesse of well doing. They thinke the paine nothing, if it were short, but to perseuere long in good courses they hold it a cruell thing. They say in their hearts, they could endure much for a day, or an hower, so *Heauen* would come presently, without tarrying too long for it. But to liue a long life, and all the while in Battell, all the while in withstanding temptations, and allurements, and denying their owne willes ; all the while expecting reward, and none coming ; it is more then flesh and blood can beare, and they will not endure it. But how Dastardly a thought is this ? How erronious, and wide from the matter ? That which they thinke so hard, is with practise easie. And that which they thinke is far off, is rather neere, as I shall prooue

vnto



vnto you now. I haue spoken hitherto of *Reward*, how great it will bee when wee shall haue it. Now hearken I beseech you for the *Neereneffe* also a word or two, according to my promise, and then I shall conclude.

Our *Saniour* well foresaw this weakenesse of ours, how weary wee would bee of well doing, if hee were not at hand to vs with *Reward*, he knew our pronenesse to euill, and how soone wee were like to distast, and forgoe this *Bread of Trauellers*, if wee should stay too long for our *Bread of Angels*. And therefore, before hee manifested himselfe to the world, he sent vs word by his fore-runner, and the first words his *Baptist* spake next to *Penitentiam agite*, were these: *appropin-* Mat. 3.  
*quauit enim regnum calorum*, The kingdome of *Heauen* is at hand. A noble comfort, if wee haue faith to beleue. *Veni-* Abac. 2.  
*ens veniet & non tardabit* faith another Prophet, Comming hee will come, and make no delay. And in another place, *Ecce venio cito, & merces mea mecum est*, Beholde I come quickly, and my reward in my hand. Hee doth as mothers doe by their children, promise them to come quickly, that they may not thinke long; so heere, *venio cito*: mothers Apoc. 3.  
speake it sometimes in pollicy, but God faith it truely (as ibid. 22.  
wee shall finde it) *venio cito*, I come presently. *Non tar-*  
*dat Deus promissionem suam* faith Saint *Peter*, God is not 2. Pet. 3.  
flowe in rewarding vs; how can wee say then that hee tarieth long, hee is farre off from vs, and scarcely thinkes on vs?

It is a sinne against the Holy Ghost, not to beleue the Holy Ghost. And if wee will beleue nothing but reason, very sence and reason will tell vs as much. For it cannot be very farre off, that, wee feare rather is too neere. Who is there, that thinkes not or feares not, that death is too neere? for so said the *Epicure*: *Cras moriemur*, Wee shall dye to morrow. And thus say they that would liue still, and take Esay. 22.  
their pleasure, they are alwayes physicking, and guarding themselves against death, which they feare still is too neere. If death then bee neere, how is it that *Heauen* is not neere, which wee cannot haue, vntill wee dye? Why complaine wee, that *Heauen* is farre off, when the doore of *Heauen* is

too neere? Some answer againe, that death is too neere indeede, but it is alwaies in respect of our vnreadinesse to dye onely. Well then, death and *Heauen* are neere. But it is wee that are farre off. Why say we then that *Heauen* is farre off, when it is our selues are farre off with our vnreadinesse, not *Heauen* farre off with our happinesse? Indeeede it is true, if *Heauen* bee neere, and we runne from it, wee shall neuer come at it: and then no fault in *Heavens* neerenesse; but in our farrenesse. Where otherwise if death bee neere, *Heauen* must needes bee neere to them that shall haue it. Mee thinkes, this reason should conuince them. For if death bee neere in our feare, why should it not bee as neere in our hope? Wee confesse the one; therefore wee must confesse the other.

And yet I cannot deny but the Saints also in some sence doe thinke it farre off, and shew some tokens of wearinesse. But this is doubtlesse out of a true longing after *heauen*, not out of a feare, that they shall staye too long for it; out of wearinesse they haue of the world, not out of wearinesse of waiting and attending Gods pleasure; out of their humility, and vnworthinesse to come thither yet; not out of sloath or presumption that it is time enough yet: out of a thirst they haue after God, whose face the *Angels* feede on; not out of temptation, and weakenesse as we doe, who, if our sence be not pleased, wee bidde the spirit adieu. In the one sence Saint *Paul* said, *Who shall deliuer me from this body of death*; and holy *Dauid*, *When shall I come and appeare before the face of my God*? And in another place, *Woe* is mee that my habitation is prolonged, thinking eue-ry minute an hower, and eue-ry day a yeare, vntill they were dissolued, and were with *Christ*: in the other sence, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo*, The foole said in his heart, there is no God. Or if hee said it not, yet his actions say that, when he beleeueth not Gods promises, but makes him a politician, to tell vs he is at hand, when we haue twenty, thirty, or forty yeares yet to liue, as many haue. No, no, hee deales not politikely, but faithfully with vs; and if wee see

Rom. 7.  
Psal. 41.

Psal. 119.

Phil. 1.  
Psal. 13.



not his words to be true in this, we are blinde, and see nothing.

Psal. 89.

Holy *David* saith the *daies* of man are threescore and ten yeares, these seeme great to children; but to our first fathers in the old testament this was no age. And if we should now liue ordinarily so long, wee might haply haue some excuse for our wearinesse. But alas, what are these threescore and tenne yeares? They are nothing to speake of, and so runne out. They that haue them thinke them quickly gone. Wee heare olde folkes confesse it, and why should wee not beleue them, when they say as they finde? we beleue the *Sentinell*, what he sees from a high tower, because he is higher then we; and we beleue the sea-man what he discouers from aboue the toppe-saile, seeing farther then we. So ought wee beleue our elders, and ancients, when they speake what they haue prooued, and wee shall say the same, when we come to the same yeares. And they say no more, but what our *Patriarke Iacob* said: *the daies* of my pilgrimage (said he) are an hundred and thirtie; *little and euill*. Holy *Iob*, said *breues dies hominis sunt*, our dayes are but short. And he asketh a question thus: *nunquid non paucitas dierum meorum finietur breui*, Will not the fewnesse of my daies be soone ended? Marke these words fewnesse; and soone ended; and yet he had an hundred and forty yeares to liue after; and when hee spake it, hee was in extreame paine, when euery hower might seeme a day to him.

Gen. 47.

Iob 14.

These men I hope will be beleued what they say. Compare now the Prophet *Dauids* sayings to these: both speaking from one spirit of truth. Holy *Iacob*, and *Iob* say, the daies of man are short. Holy *David* saith our *yeares* are threescore and tenne; therefore (I say) the time of threescore and ten are short, and quickly gone, and consequently our reward at hand. How will this argument bee answered? one tels vs, that all the earth as bigge as it is, and full of great kingdomes is no bigger then a pinnes head in comparison to the vast and huge firmament; and we easily beleue it, when the learned tell vs it, though our sence doth

not reach it. And yet how little, or nothing, our pilgrimage is heere, euen his that liueth longest; a matter of so common experience, and which our owne infirmities, and daily indispositions minde vs of; we perswade our selues notwithstanding that it is a long time, and neither will authority, reason, or warning by others, once mooue vs, or beate vs from this moth-eaten hold we haue of long life forsooth, and time enough yet. Three or fourscore yeares are a long time with vs in Gods seruice; though short enough in our desires.

But let them be as long as men will haue them. Suppose threescore and tenne be great, and grievous to holde out to the end withall in vertuous life. See whether God in this also, haue not done very much for vs, that we may haue no cause to alleadge against him, if we will make benefit of it. How many be there I pray, that liue to threescore and tenne. Doth euery man liue, till he be old? I will say more. Doth euery one liue to halfe those yeares? I will be bolde to say; and I thinke I can prooue it, that halfe those that are borne into the world, doe neuer come to fife and thirty; yea more then this; hardly two parts of three, come to see fife and thirty. And this I prooue two waies. First by the many multitudes of them that dye betweene the cradle, and fife and thirty. As appeareth by sextons and Church-clarkes, whom I haue heard affirme, that they bury two of the yonger halfe which are vnder fife & thirty, for one of the elder halfe, from thirty fife to seuenty. Secondly & principally, by a suruey of households, families, and towneshippes throughout the land, be it in citty, towne, or country, and that in this manner. Deuide any of these into three; and scarce the third part is fife and thirty. My selfe haue noted that two parts of three, are alwaies vnder fife and thirty. Vnlesse it be in princes houses, and hospitals. If the family be nine persons, sixe of them be vnder; if fiftene, tenne of them be vnder; If there be thirty in a house, twenty at the least are vnder; and so forward in proportion. Ye will say this may be true; not because they bee dead, that should make vp the number euen; but because they marry away,



away, or prouide themſelues otherwiſe, ere they come to that age. Well then. Follow them where they goe, and where they ſettle, they muſt be ſome where. Still yee ſhall finde all one, and the ſame proportion whereſoeuer they become. But to leaue theſe, and come to thoſe, that are entered the latter halfe of thirty five, and vpward; there, the oddes is much greater; an hundred to one, *Titleman* ſaith a thouſand to one, that they neuer ſhall ſee ſeauentye.

Now what is become of all thoſe, that were once five and thirty with him? are they not all dead? but halfe a dozen, or not ſo many in a pariſh before they come to ſeauenty, or any thing neere it? yet thus it is in all places, and countries. There is a multitude of the younger ſort all of an age; but of olde folkes but a fewe, and almoſt none in compariſon. And therefore it is, I thinke that holy *Dauid* ſaid, *dies amorum noſtrorum in ipsis, &c.* The daies of our *Pſal. 89.* yeares (in themſelues) are threſcore and tenne; In themſelues they are ſo many: but in vs not ſo many, or in very fewe of vs. It is a time limited to vs, to which moſt fewe doe euer attaine. As if a man ſhould ſay, it is tenne mile to ſuch a towne to goe the next way ouer rocks, and places vn- paſſable; but the common way is twentieth. In it ſelfe that is tenne, but to vs it is twenty. Euen ſo it is with mans age. There be that liue to thoſe great yeares, but ſo fewe, that a man needes not feare it, if he would not liue long; and it were folly to hope it, if long life be that he would haue. But my purpoſe is not to dwell vpon theſe points, which although they be true; yet I leaue them rather to your ſcan- ning at more leiſure vpon theſe grounds I haue giuen you; then to ſeeme ouercurious in a matter ſo ſerious, as now I haue in hand.

And yet I hope, this is not without fruite which I ſpeake of; For ſo much as euen in this the prouidence of God is ſeene ouer vs, and his tender loue to vs. His prouidence firſt, in foreſeeing our danger by liuing long. How many be there in the world, that wee haue knowne vertuous in their youth, and vitious in their age; in their child-hood tow-

ardly, in their middle age of good example; in their elder yeares declining, and at last vnrecoverable. Which *David* fearing in one place, prayes to God, saying: O forsake me not Lord, when I come to bee olde. And of this wee haue diuers examples in Scriptures, *Saul*, *Salomon*, *Ioas* and others; who of Gods especiall seruants, declined in the ende to bee Idolaters; or as ill. Gods loue also is heere to be seene towards his elect; for whose sake as hee will shorten, and abridge the whole world, and will hasten the end of it; so doth he in particular for many of his seruants, abridge much part of their time, that otherwise they might haue liued.

And albeit that many liue longer for their amendment or increase of grace, which is also his goodnesse, *Patientiam habet nolens aliquos perire*, saith S. *Peter*, he drawes out the time with many, that they may haue time to repent them: yet so it is, that God will haue vs see, and know, and take notice of it; what oddes there is against vs, that wee shall not liue long. Many signes in our body, that our time will be heere but short. Many spectacles before our eyes, and warnings on euery side by others harmes, or vntimely deaths. New diseases euery yeare, that will not let the bell stand; and sometimes horrible plagues, and pestilent agues, that seldom touch olde folkes, but pull downe the lustiest. What should I speake of consumptions, squinances, cough of the lungs; ptisickes, dropfies, pleurifies, collicke and stone, lethargies, appoplexies, and sometimes the sweating sicknesse, that playes sweepe-stake amongst vs, when it comes, and these come commonly of misdiet, or infection.

Besides this, the number is without number, that dye of age before they bee halfe olde: of age I say, because it is olde age with some vnder forty, with some vnder thirty, with some vnder twenty, or vnder tenne, if God will haue them liue no longer; who hath appointed euery one their bounds, which they may not passe: *Posuisti terminos, qui præteriri non poterunt*. Hee calles it *terminos*, not one bound for euery man; but how many men, so many limites and bounds, no certainty of it but one, which is (once) as Saint *Paul* saith, but not when. And of this there bee naturall reasons

Psal. 70.

Mat. 24.

Sap. 4. 11.

2. Pet. 3.

Iob. 14.

Heb. 9.



reasons also, besides Gods ordinance, which are the severall indispositions of mens bodies, as wee learne by *Aristotle*, *Galen*, and *Hipocrates*; the poorenesse of moysture radicall in infinite persons, and the ouer abundance of it, in others, which naturall heate is not able to master. The faults also in our first conception, and generation (which no man knowes of but God) make an end of vs quickly, when younger yeares promise longer life. To say nothing of the *Maleolous* influence of sundry starres the Lords of our natiuity; or of them, that keepe no meane in their youth, and kill themselves with misrule. *Plures occidit gula, quam gladius*, saith one.

Lastly, the manifold names our life is called by, in Scriptures, and fathers, doe shew the brittlesse and vncertainty of it; as when it is called a bubble, that is come, and gone in the twinkling of an eye. It is called hay, greene yesterday, and this day withered away. *Sicut fœnum dies eius*, & *Psal. 102. tanquam flos agri sic efflorebit*. Compared heere to a flower in the field, this day fresh, and challenging the Sunne for beauty, and fairenesse; to morrow holding downe the proud necke, and no body looks at it. It is called a smoake, a vapour, our face in a glasse, soone seene, and soone forgotten, a cherry faire, a shaddow, and as Saint *Augustine* calleth it, a shaddow by Moone-light, so much to say as a shaddow of a shaddow. What flowers of youth haue we knowne in our time; the hopes of their fathers house, and greatnesse, now blasted; and long since buried vnder the shaddow of death; and will bee quite out of minde. What beautifull Matrons haue we seene in our dayes, that possessed mens hearts with their vertues, and sparkling eyes? They arose like a morning starre to shewe themselves in our *Horizon*, went downe againe in their prime, and rise no more. To say nothing of our *Europe* worthies, whom our eyes haue seene to fall in our last warres like starres in the firmament. But *ô fallacem hominum spem fragilemq; fortunam*, saith *Tully*; speaking of our vnstable life, how greatly wee build vpon it, and yet in *medio curriculo* (as hee calleth it) wee are taken, and intercepted by death, when wee least thinke it, in the midst

*Psal. 102.*

*Iac. 4.*

*Medit.*

*De orat.*



of our course.

But thus wee see in fewe words, how neere our reward is; euen as neere as death. And if authority of Scripture will not serue, here be also reasons for it, and more might bee added, if neede were. *Qui non credit peribit*, And hee that beleeueth not this verity which hee sees testified with his owne eyes, how can hee bee thankfull, as hee should, for so great a benefit. Let life bee short or long with vs, it is allotted for our good, and the way to make vse of it, is to thanke God, that it is no longer. If a man make reckoning of the best things heeie, and would liue still, to enioy them still; let him know hee must forgoe them in the ende, hee knowes not how soone. His delights must goe one way, and hee another. Let him make much of life; for when life is gone, his ioy is gone. But if a man haue a true feeling, and knowledge of himselfe, and of his life; and of the frailties of it, how full of sinne, and pronenesse to sinne, how full of inticements and euill *pronocations*, and dulnesse to any goodnesse; what stormes, and afflictions to beate vs from God; what danger in prosperity to neglect God; what multiplicity of businesse to forget God, or to make vs loue him lesse; hee will thinke it a blessing of God, not to liue long, and will say with Saint *Paul*, *Mihi mori lucrum*, My death my gaine, and will ioy much in this possibility hee hath; this great possibility I say, to bee one of this number, that shall liue but a little while.

Phil. 1.

*Heathens* themselves, that had no light but naturall; yet saw they how good it was, to dye betimes. For when the good olde woman *Argia* was in haste to goe to the sacrifice as *Tully* telleth in his *Tusculan questions*, and her Coach-horses were out of the way; what did her two Sonnes *Cleobis* and *Biton*, but went in presently to strip and annoint themselves, and drewe her thither in stead of horses, in very good time: For which their act, she besought God to blesse them with the greatest reward that could bee giuen to men. And so hee did. For the next morning, after she had feasted them ouer night, and sent them well to bedde; shee found them both stone dead. Their guerdon of their *Piety* was shortnesse

of



of life, as the greatest good thing, that could betide them. And this no doubt doth many a good mother amongst vs obtaine for her childe, when shee prays for him, and thinks not that God will quit her so, though God doth know it to bee best so. Yea good king *David* had not his prayers, 2.Reg. 12. when hee prayed so earnestly for his childes life. God saw it best to take him away. And how much happier had it beene for *Absolon* also, to haue dyed in his cradle, then liue to bee a Rebell. And to this purpose I haue heard a saying of *Fredericke* the third, that worthy Emperour, and it was much noted. That beeing asked once, what was the best thing God could bestow on vs in the world, to be taken well, out of the world said hee : and yet hee tasted three and fifty yeares what it was to bee an Emperour, and to abound in peace, and in all good things.

O what a benefite is this of God? What thanks doe we owe him for it? If a man haue a long way home in a hard winter time, and when hee comes to his Inne at night all moyled, and weather-beaten, (and must haue many such dayes, before hee get home) shall finde himselfe on a suddaine in the midst of his owne yard; his wife and family with lights at the doore to entertaine him, a good fire within to warme him, and change to shift him, will hee not stand amazed, and fall on his knees with wonder, that his iourney prooues so short? yet this can no man expect, nor can it be done without miracle. A Merchant likewise, that sets out from the Indies with goods of great price: the iourney long and tedious, and no lesse perilous. If he passe through safe, hee is made for euer; if hee miscarrie, hee, and his are vndone; and euery day breeds new feares. Howbeit in putting in at some Cape three thousand miles hence, if hee should finde himselfe at that instant iust before *Calis* or *Do-uer*; could any tongue expresse his ioy? Yet this must bee also by miracle. And these good happes bee neuer heard of, though in our case it bee ordinary, and daily done without miracle. So bountifull is Gods goodnesse towards vs, that trafficke here for *Heauen*.

Our selues bee this Merchant, or Traueller, that would



so faine bee at home. Wee trade heere for good habits, and the grace of God, more worth a great deale, then golde of *Ophir*, or *Heuilah*. Our care is heere but for safe arriuall through a maine of miseries, and contradictions in our way. It is common with God, to harbour vs at halfe way. The better halfe (as I said) are not gone halfe way, but they are at their long home first: or if not, yet is it all one to a man, if hee bee of resolution. Despaire, and faint hee will not, but hold it out to the end. We may not sticke in a slough still, without stirring a foote, because we haue a great way home. Wee may not cast our goods ouer boord, because we know not when wee shall make vse of them. Wee shall serue God still, feare him still, loue him still, and attend his good pleasure still, in little and great, in wealth and pouerty, in faire weather and in foule. Wee shall not value inward riches, at lesse then outward; *Heauen* at lesse then the world; nor take more care for clods, then for glory.

If wee looke but for an Executor-ship, or to be some rich mans heire, wee are willing to obserue him with all respect wee can; no duty, or seruice omitted if hee bee our better; no kinde of kindnesse vnshewne, if hee bee our equall; and this not for a moneth, or a yeare, but many yeares. And if it bee so, that wee thinke it long, yet waxe wee not weary streight, or cease to be respectfull, as long as wee haue hope. And if it were so, that a man should be weary in such a case, or should neglect the inheritance that is so long in coming, and should goe ioyne with an enemy, or loose his possibility for a horse, or a hawke in hand; should wee not holde him vnwise? Yet thus it is with most of vs in matters of *Eternity*. *Heauen* wee would haue, but wee will not tarry for it. Wee holde it tedious to bee so long *Vertuous*, and in the meane time, wee giue heede to our passions, and our humors beare all the sway with vs. On the one side of vs loue of *Carnality*, loue of soft and sweete, loue of money and momentaries; on the other side choller, pride, enuy, rancor, and reuenge, and what not besides, that the Diuell will suggest. I speake of many things, but one of these is enough to damne vs, and to turne Gods face from vs for ever;



euere; and all for lacke, of but a short whiles perseuerance. And this may suffice for the neereneffe of *reward*. I prooued it before to be great, and nowe to bee neere, what can wee aske more.

## The Conclusion.

I haue beene much longer, and I feare mee more trouble. Some to you, then I intended. But the matter wee handle, is of greatest moment, and is the onely thing we must relye vpon, and sticke to for euere. All other matters are humane, and temporary, this euerelasting, and Angelicall. This is the last dish we must feede on, serued into our table with a couer, that we may not see it, nor taste it, vntill the couer of our flesh be taken away. What it is, I cannot describe to you, in other sort then I haue done. Well I know, it is the same, that Angels feed on. The selfe same, that *Cherubins and Seraphins* delight in. For as the damned haue the same food, and fire in hell, as our Sauour telleth vs, that was prepared for the diuell and his Angels; so haue the *Saued* also the same fare, and are fedde with the Mat 25. same foode, that was ordayned for Gods Angels, and the *Cœlestiall hierarchy*. And although we knowe not yet how, or in what sort, or kinde, this feeding, nourishing, or exceeding pleasure, shall affect vs; for as *Leo* saith, *nisi fides credat, sermo non explicat*, it is better beleueed, then expressed; yet haue I opened vnto you after my poore manner, and giuen you a scantling of it, how *great* it is, both by the visible things in the world (that are all nothing to it,) and also by the *greatnesse* of mans vnderstanding; which is able to conceiue all things in the world, but not the least things in *heauen*. What is not in *heauen* I haue also shewne you. Nothing there to offend, or that can offend, a priuiledged place from all arrest of trouble, or of least molestation, as by the seuerall names it is called by, and the price that hath beene giuen for it, and by the fewnesse of *Buyers*, it may appeare, and I haue there alleadged. And in this abundance of com-



Tract. II. 10.  
in Ioh.

pleate happinesse, yea haue heard also, what estate wee shall haue, not for a yeare, or yeares, life, or liues, or to vs, and our heires: but to vs and our selues for euer. And least haply we should make voide our faith in any sort with ouermuch *curiosity*, faith being no faith, if we beleeeue not without eye knowledge: I haue importuned you, not to be too busie in matters aboue your reach; as to know how, what, or when, and how long first. Which I haue lastly prooued vnto you, not to be long, at the longest, and is most commonly as neere vs as we can wish. *Hoc modicum longum videtur, dum hic agitur*, saith Saint *Augustine*, This little seemes long to vs heere, *Sed cum finitum fuerit, sentiemus, quam modicum fuerit*; but when it is ended, saith he, wee shall see how little it was. And so no doubt we shall finde when we come once to that *heavenly Sanctuary*; that city of refuge; that haue of all our hopes; where a hundred yeares shall seeme as nothing, if wee liued heere so long in feare of God, and vertuous life. *Verily* we shall wonder at our selues then, that we could thinke the time here long; beleeuing *heaven* as we did, to be so long in lasting, and so neuer toward ending. Whats a stones cast of foule way, to a world of faire way? Is it to be stucke at. Whats a spoonefull of gaule, to a sea of Rose water? Is it to reckon of? For shame of our selues let vs thinke no time lost, or long in Gods seruice. For if we doe, must we not looke to be punished for it? and that by so much the more, by how much the more mercifull hee is vnto vs, in tempering as he doth our length of daies with so many delights, and pleasing businesse in the world; while either we recreate our selues moderately, sleepe and rest our selues temperately, conuerse with others familiarly, bestirre our selues in our vocation commendably, see the fruits of our labour not without comfort. We are not alwayes at our deuotions, not alwayes praying, reading, and mortifying our selues. Yea, the yeere it selfe which is the measure of our age, is also distinguished for vs into seuerall seasons. Winter comes but once a yeare. Then comes the spring be-deckt with violets below, and blossomes ouer head. Then the summer full of day-light and ripening sunne. Then har-  
uest



uest with all inticing fruits to fill our mouthes, and hands full all the yeere long, till new come in; and euery season hath his lawfull pleasures. Which if we abused hitherto, or haue spent our time vnpromisingly, or haue liued badly; so mercifull is God, that he will not exact of vs, to beginne all our time anew, as tradesmen doe by their apprentices; but will take the rest for good payment, that wee haue to liue, though it be but a yeere, so we pray hard, and will yet resolve to amend. Haply hee will content himselfe with two houres in a day, or with lesse, so it be with seruour. And this is not the tenth part of our life, nor eight houres of the day, as king *Alfred* vsed, notwithstanding his warres, and common-wealth affaires. What cause haue we now to complaine? If we be weary of kneeling, we may stand or sitte, if weary of sitting wee may walke. *Isaack* went into the fields to meditate. Againe when God sends crosses, hee interlaces them with promises, our unhappinesse hee delays with comforts, our mischances with assurance of his presence, and assistance, if we forsake him not: *Rebus mestis iucunda permiscuit* saith Saint *Chrysostome*: And holy *David*: In *Mat. 8.* *Psal. 91.* What measure wee haue in sorrowes, the like measure wee haue in comforts. All these helpes hee allowes vs against wearinesse, all these fauours against tediousnesse of life. In hell they would bee glad of the least of them. Yet thus God doth by vs, as it were stealing away time from vs, that wee may not feele it, or thinke it long. Let no man say therefore hereafter, it will bee long first. I will thinke of these matters tenne or twenty yeares hence. No, let them not say I will begin to morrow; yea why not euen now?

*Omne crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum.*

Saith an olde Poet,

{ Thinke euery day to be thy last.

{ Take hold of time, ere time be past.

Let vs learne of an heathen, what danger is in protracting and dallying with God: If we haue beene slacke, and mi-



trustfull of Gods promises hitherto, euen now let vs be-  
 ginne, and turne ouer the leafe. I haue spoken many words  
 to day; if any of them be to the purpose; I beseech you let  
 it not fall, or come againe emptie. Let vs make our con-  
 fession with holy *David*, and say with him; *ecce elongani fu-*  
*giens*, Not heauen farre off, but wee farre off with flying it,  
 and making our selues strange to it, with our guilty consci-  
 ences. Yea, although in respect of our sinnes wee may cry  
 with him otherwhiles, saying: *Nerenuces me in dimidio di-*  
*erum meorum*, Cut vs not off in the midst of our daies,  
 before we amend; and in zeale of Gods seruice, *Non moriar*  
*sed viuam, et narrabo opera domini*, I will liue still, and will not  
 die, but will tell the workes of God; yet in *via virtutis*, as  
 there he saith, in the way of vertue, patience, and penitence  
 in this life, it is profitable for vs to thinke of our short life,  
 and to make that our daily prayer and comfort, saying, *Pau-*  
*citatem dierum meorum nuncia mihi*; Let mee alwaies haue  
 these tydings in my eare, that my daies be short, and soone  
 at an end. And let vs not onely say it, but also thinke it, and  
 hope it to be very true. Oh that we might amend hereafter,  
 and spurre the faster, that we may one day all of vs meete,  
 and neuer depart againe. If any difficulty bee in it, it is all  
 in the beginning. All our paines will be at the first. A little  
 vse will make it easie, and the hardest that is will breake no  
 bones. It will breake a sleepe indeed, to pray as we should  
 pray; and to force our willes at the first, to the rule of rea-  
 son. Make hast I beseech you, for I haue showne you the  
 way. Let no impediment stoppe you, no time or temptati-  
 on weary you in so important a businesse. Waken your  
 soules, that reason sleepe not. Diet your bodies, that it re-  
 bell not. I said before, *the iust man liues by faith*. So doe you.  
 Stirre vp your faith, that it lye not idle in you without fruit.  
 Let vs liue by faith, as louers liue by loue. Their loue is life  
 to their thoughts, and fire to their affections. They will doe  
 nothing against lawes of loue; they ply her with all the  
 seruice, and good offices they can; the ground of their hopes  
 is but a word, or a good looke, or halfe a promise from her.  
 Can we not doe thus to God? It is but changing the sub-  
 iect

Psal. 54.

Psal. 101.

Psal. 117.

Rom 1.  
Abac. 2.



iest, and it is done. Keepe your loue still, be enamored still. That which was to a creature, Let now bee to the creator, & then yee are right; hold your selues there, so it be to God. If nothing can please you but riches, and splendour, make vse of your faith; and ye shall haue all contentment in him, that ye can desire. If beauty delight you, reflect vpon your faith, and ye will neuer seeke other, then what yee finde in him. Your hope shall not be so weake, as louers hopes, vpon a word, or halfe promise. Euery leafe in the Bible is fraught with promises. She is your owne, what seeke you more, and if ye haue faith she bringes all that is good with her. Doe as louers doe. Serue God and obserue him, whatsoever ye haue in hand. Let your loue be t'one end of your thought. Marke what God loues in you, and doe it; note what he hates in you, & auoide it. Let him be alwaies master of your heart, to gouerne it; mistresse of your loue, to command it, a most bountifull rewarder, ye shall finde him, and a most beautifull mistresse, yet none so meane in the world, but may haue her; none so great in the world, but may goe without her. How can a man be idle, and haue so sweet a mistresse to serue? night, and day, hee cannot sinne, in thinking on her. But I leaue all to your good practise, ye haue heard (worthy friends) all that one body can say in so short a time, in words so fewe and in a businesse, so aboue all measure necessarie, and I may not spoyle with tediousnesse, a matter so replete with all pleasantnesse. Shall I aske you a question, to make an end withall; yee shall not need answer me in words, but in thoughts. Is there any vnbeleeuer in this place? Can any man perswade himselfe he shall liue long, or that *heauen* wil be had without much care? or that worldly cares do not hinder it, and hazzard it exceedingly? Doe they thinke they haue no such inheritance in *heauen* as I speake of, *Locum nominatum dabit eis pater meus*, My father will giue them a place by name: or thinke they that the least flower in *heauen* is not much more worth, then the fairest bower on earth? that one glimps at Gods brightnesse (if we might see it) would not dimme and damne the worldes greatest happinesse? that one peepe into *heauen* would not make our gold shew like leade, faire fields like a



desert, the bright sunne like a sparkle, beauty like the white skull of a dead body? if any such be heere as beleue nothing but what they see, delight in nothing, but what the basest, dullest, and most vulgar delight in; I shall most humbly intreate them for the passion of Christ, and for the true loue they owe themselves, to informe themselves better, by them that be better learned. Let them not be sicke so dangerously and seeke after no remedy. But if it be so, as I haue no doubt but ye all beleue mee, then tell me I pray; whether yee neede a spurre thither, that haue so faire a baite of it; whether yee neede a whippe, that haue so faire allurements to it; whether yee neede inuiting to your owne house, any bidding to your owne banquet, any inforcing to your owne possession or proper inheritance: which if yee neede, I doe not maruell much in this great opposition of flesh, and blood, which keepes you from seeing your inward marke; and which vntill yee see more perfectly, minde more readily, and aime at more feruently, as you doe at outward things; sure, it is not with you, as it should bee, and your present remedy is, to make a patterne of outward things, whereby to guide you to the inward. Who stumbles at a money-bagge, and needes be bidden take it vp? who hath a good legacy giuen him, and needes perswading to goe fetch it? who is a hungred, and needes inforcing to fill his belly, hauing good meate before him. *Sence* furthers him in all this. And shall our faith be weaker then *sence*, to further vs to the contrary? *Sence* telles vs money is better then Gods mercy; itching pleasure better then *Paradice*; present momentaries better then future euerlastingnesse. And shall our faith lye dead the whilest. Take courage in God, and let not *sence* so preuaile against it; Let not idlenesse drowne it; passion ouerthrowe it; and filthy custome cut the throate of it. Let faith rather goe before, and other things come after. When we follow one by night, our eye is neuer off him, for feare we misse our way; euen so let vs looke to our faith-ward alwayes, that our *sence* seduce vs not in the darke of our vnderstanding. If at any time ye be feasting, or sporting, turne your eye now  
and



and then inward, and remember the grand-feast preparing for yee aboue. Are yee in sorrow, or heauinesse; stirre vp your faith a little, remember *heauen*, and sorrow will vanish like a bubble. Are ye at a royall maske, or other great entertainment? Thinke it all nothing to that is ready for yee in *heauen*, against ye come there. Haue ye lost a friend or deare companion? Take the glasse of faith in your hand, and ye find an hundred for one more deare to you, then any can be vpon earth. Haue ye sweetes at your nose, or dainties in your taste? Dwell not on them too long, but reflecte them higher. Are ye tempted with disloyaltie, or other disobedience? Raife an *heauenly* thought, and it will vntempt you. Are yee in delight of harmony, the Waites perhaps at your windowe, to giue you the time of the day? Let this make worke for your faith, and quicken it, and make it eager after her *heauenly* harmony. Are ye melancholy at misfortune, discontent with distresse, dazeled with gloomy weather, afflicted with reproach or oblique? Repaire to your liuely faith; and it will banish all discomfort. Your field musicke, and trumpets, that make you couch your lances, and your horses stampe vnder you, let these be your alarums against your triple enemie, that baricado the way betweene you and *heauen*. Let your inward trumpet sound with your outward, to spend your spirits, and animate your soules, against any proffer to beate you from *heauen*. Doe ye know what *heauen* is? that noble *heauen*; that golden *heauen*; that glorious and delightfull *heauen*; that euerlasting *heauen*; where Angels becken you, and looke euery day for you, and will yee bee beaten from it? Doe yee know your right to it, the Ancientie of your title, and the price was giuen for it; and will yee bee beaten from it with any fire, or sword, or haply with a lewd looke of an intemperate eye? Oh farre be these from your Christian manhood; farre be it from your own selfe loue; far be it from your *baptisme*, and grace of God in you. But mee thinkes I see *heroicall* signes in you: your faith leapes in your faces, your heart is in flames, and your spirit replenished with resolution, which giues great hope that the gates of hell will neuer preuaile a-



against you, nor stop you of your way, your way to heavenward I say, which I haue painted & pointed you vnto. Haste yee thither, and runne a pace, put wings to your willes, and out-strippe all impediments: I conclude with Saint Paul. *Sic currite ut comprehendatis*, So runne, as yee may catch. So run, as ye may obtaine what ye runne for. Let no man say he is fatte, and pursie, and growne past running: For God hath promised him the feete of a Stagge, if he doe but his good will. Let no man say he is old, feeble and weake; and cannot breake ill custome, for he must know, that *Virtus in infirmitate perficitur*, The weaker a man is, the greater is Gods glory in the combate. *Christ* will take ye vp vpon his shoulders, and runne away with you, if you will but take the paines to get vp. *Sic currite*, so runne saith he. Almost all the world runnes backward, and yet they runne. But this is not *Sic currite*. Run yee forward I beseech you. There be some also that runne about, yet runne, *In circuitu impij ambulant*, The wicked walke in a circuit: will yee knowe what this is? They that walke the way of *ambition* and *emulation*, They that walke the way of pleasure and delight; They that walke the way of riches, and ease, it is a great aduenture, they will neuer arriue at the happinesse we speake of, not that rich folke cannot come to heauen; but they that *seeke* riches, and lay to heape riches. Not, that men cannot winne *heauen* that haue pleasure; but they that seeke pleasure, and poure themselues out vpon it. Not, that kings, and princes, and honorable persons, Bishops, Archbishops, and such like haue no part in our *heavenly kingdome*; but they that aspire after greatnesse, aspire after kingdomes, and labour after Prelacye, and Sublimitie in the world: all these I say runne round in a circle, and waxe giddie withall. They are drowned in their owne desires, and cannot breath for it. They are borne so downe with their burthen on their backs, that it is impossible to make way. The word is (*ambulant*) they doe but walke, not runne; and to runne thus, is not *Sic currite*. Runne yee the next way be sure, and loose no ground. Some againe there be, that runne with the Hare as they say, and holde with the hound. They flye vice, and yet, incline

1. Cor. 9.

Esa. 35.

Abac 3.

2. Cor. 12.

Luc. 15.

Psal. 11.



incline to vice, flye one temptation and entertaine another;  
 flye the act, and delight in thought. Oh this is not *Sic cur-  
 rite*. Long shall they so runne, and neuer catch. Wee are  
 bidden so runne, as wee may obtaine. This word [runne]  
 excludes all daliance, and delay. Wee must not stand at a  
 stay, nor looke behind vs. This word [*obtaine*] includes per-  
 seuerance, to holde it out to the ende. To runne therefore  
 without wearinesse, to goe forward still without repentance;  
 this is indeede *Sic currite*: this is to runne so as the Apostle  
 will haue vs. The onely enemy to perseuerance, is idle, vn-  
 certaine, and vnsettled life. Make your selues businesse al-  
 waies, that may bee good: and then let no alteration of  
 time, or place hinder you; no hard fortune disarme you;  
 no fawning of any friends vnstrengthen you. Let your  
 word bee *Semper idem*. Hee that knowes yee now, and  
 sees you not againe of twenty yeares together;  
 let him finde you the same, or better. Let  
 all your neighbours report of your  
 sweetnesse, all your acquaintance  
 take example by you of much  
 goodnes, and fetch fire  
 at your *feruour*.

FINIS.









TO THE RIGHT  
HONORABLE HIS  
VERY GOOD LORD, EDWARD  
EARLE OF Worcester.



*IR, the place you haue for honour and  
armes, with my bounden duty together,  
haue mooued mee to dedicate to your  
Honor, this part of my labours : where-  
in I bring you not a grape of mine owne  
planting, or a Pome-deroy, or a Musk-  
million; but a posie of mine owne pick-  
ing out of other mens gardens. My  
hope is, you will not looke into the meanenesse of my performance,  
but the merit of the subiect : wherein your selfe haue also labou-  
red right nobly, and much more profitably would, if gentlemen  
as they bee true gentlemen, would become your true followers.  
To them I speake in this little treatise, and not to you, but  
learne of you. And so with all humility wishing you health and  
longer yeares, I take my leaue of your Lordship.*

All your good Lordships  
to command

*W. Wiseman.*







# THE FIRST CHARGE

## BY THE DVKE

against Duellum.



Right noble audience, and fellowes at armes. I haue inuited you hither to day for your good company, which I can neuer be weary of: and partly also out of the aboundance of my heart, to impart vnto you somewhat, that may stead you hereafter, wheresoeuer yee become. Yee haue beene pleased ere now, to heare your *Generalls* voyce halfe an hower together. And it hath beene I thinke for your good. My words concluded then with commanding, but now with intreating, and mutuall *imbracing*. Men of peace may bee to seeke in time of warres. So you, that come newly from the warres, may bee to seeke of your carriage in time of peace. Yee were men of fort, and noble, the most of yee, before yee came hither. And yee haue lost no reputation by your comming, but shall retorne into your countries (I doubt not) with much increase of honour. Honour in regard of your owne approoued valour. Honour in respect of the cause, and quarrell yee haue spent your time in, and much of your blood. For what more Honourable, then to fight against the great deuourer of *Christianity*, the vpbraider of *Israell*, and blasphemers of the Sonne of God, *Christ Iesus*? Yea, how much more honourable this, then to waste our *frascible* part vpon one another at home? Not onely to fight and kill, if we can; but when we haue done our worst, to beare malice, and deadly feud still, and sometimes,



times, as long as we liue. A very bad vse in our countrey. Euen family against family, and man against man, without all moderation. Those whom God gaue his life for, we will take life from. Those whom he suffered paine for, we would put to paine if we could, or to shame if we cannot. Those who by generation, or regeneration, should be our brothers, and all one with vs, all selected children of one God, and parteners of one blessing; we seeke to dishonour by word, or deede, vpon euery light occasion. We that should beare one anothers burthen, and doe as we would be done to, we doe the contrary, heape coles one vpon another, deeme the worst of euery bodie, as we list, neuer reflect vpon Gods Law, or mans Law, but how to wreake our anger, and make our humors therein both Iudge, and hangman.

Thankes be to God, our hand hath not bin hitherto in our neighbours bloud. We haue spent our anger, and fury, where it can neuer bee ill, or better bestowed, vpon the grand-enemies of God, our new *Philistims*. Whom to strike is duty, to kill is Honour, and to bee killed of them a sacrifice. There to fight, wee are sure is Gods battell; there to bee valiant, is true valour; there, feare wee no iniustice in the worst wee can; nor neede to bee ouer scrupulous to thrust our swordes in vp to the hilts. There to turne our backes is cowardize; there to bee afraide, is to bee white liuered; there, to shew pittie, were impiety; and they that should bee fainting, or faulty therein, might be truely charged with dishonour. The cause iust, and honorable; the quarrell Gods, not ours; commanded by lawfull authority, not by humane leuity. The honour ours, if wee winne; no dishonour, if wee loose, so we doe our indeauour.

There beemen, too fewe for ought I see, to bee imployed in that honourable seruice. And yet wee fight, and wrangle, and kill vp one another at home, and robbe the Christian common-weale of their interest in vs, without mercy, pittie, or true manhood indeede, as I shall prooue vnto you. If our idle spirits at home did but see, what we haue seene, the inundation of hell-hounds, that haue come downe vpon vs by hundreds of thousands at once, their noise of armour, horses,



horses, and howling ; their pride, and fury against vs, the ayre filled with trumpet, fife, and drum, as if it were doomes day ; our voyce crying out the whilest to God, and Christians, to come helpe vs : men would not bee so idle and home-bredde, as they bee (for want of an enemy to poke and push at one another as they doe ; but would couet to fight where men fight, and dye where men dye, and shall haue glory, and renowne for it.

When yee come in your countrey againe, yee shall finde those, euen such as yee left behinde you, when you came hither ; that neuer sawe army in their life, and yet will giue lawes of chivalry ; know not how to trayle a pyke like a souldier, and yet will braue a souldier to his face ; were neuer officers in the field, and yet if they haue beene at the Vniuersity a while, and haue read a little of *Linie*, or *Plutarks lines* ; and then come new to court, or Innes of court: they thinke themselues straight to bee *Scipioes*, or *Hannibals*, and fall to practising ; and doe as they see others doe ; learne to giue the lye brauely, or to vse the fist, or poynard at the entring. It is the fault of youth, and of the times ; and there bee too many of them at this day, but I hope there will bee fewer. Yeares, time, and better knowledge of themselues, and of their owne woorth, will bring them more discretion. Meane time, I would there were not so many also of iudgement sufficient, and of elder sort, that thinke it valiant to bee stirred quickly, a word, and a blow with them, or spit in his face, and in the field next morning, to kill or to bee killed. And this not onely they doe, but thinke it lawfull to doe, and thinke it base, and cowardly not to doe.

It is vndoubted, that Honour is a great ornament to him that hath it, and euery one seekes it in his degree, and ranke. And our countrey is as fruitfull of Honorable, and well indued persons, as any nation in the world ; and as quickly it is seene by them, as soone almost, as they haue cast off their long coates. And as well furnished yee shall finde them with matter fitte to support their honour, when they come to yeares ; as either for manhood, valour, strength, actiuity, or noblenesse of minde. All which as they bee vertues well



beseeming gentlemen, and men may doe much to vphold them ; so is it a most vnworthy thing, and worthiest of punishment, that they should receiue blemish by any wrong.

The most of you (as I said before) are men of fort, and as yee haue all deserued well, and none of you the contrary : so is it necessary yee should maintaine your Honour in places where yee come. But how ? In Honorable sort, without dishonour to God, or disgrace to your countrey, or Soueraigne. And it will be expected in these corrupted, and maleuolous times ; yea God will aske it at your hands, beeing men at armes, and neuer yet touched with the least cowardize, no not when they haue beene fise to one (I will not say ten to one) that yee should shew good example to your countrey-men ; and that your actions should bee their instructions, your good experience their better learning, and your carriage their rule, that haue not such cause to know what you know, or not so well as you, in regard of the long time, and place, yee haue serued in, where questions of Honour haue daily risen, and were seldome suffered by superiours to come to blood, if they had authority to restraine them.

The world is full of wrangles, and the good, and patient are abused, and abased euery where. *Pride*, and disdain haue filled all things with debate. One backbites, another is incensed ; one doth vnkindly, another taketh it ill ; one meanes well, the other mistaketh it ; one giues a contumely, another deales a blowe ; and in all these is wisdom required, to carry an euen hand. And because I would not wishe you to take so much wrong ; nor yet to right your selues with any vnrighteousnesse : I thinke it good to let you knowe, and it is fit yee should alwaies remember your duty to God, and the world, and to forget your selues as little as yee can, in hot blood, or in colde. By hot blood I meane all suddaine things, before wee can well deliberate. By colde I meane, when the heate is gone, but desire of reuenge remaineth. To the first belongeth iangling, brawling, blowes, foule speeches, and multiplying. To the second belong the dregges of the former, after they bee parted. The



first hath commonly present execution while the fire is yet hotte. The second hath time to pause; and if hee doe amisse, the fault is the greater. The first can neuer bee without offence in the cause giuer, whether it come of heate, mistaking, or scorne. For how can yee miscall one, or giue approbious words without sinne; neither is it without offence in the answerer, though not so great.

He is more then a man, or lesse then a man, that can put vp a contumelie on a sudden. And therefore it is written in *Ecclesiastes*: *Calumnia conturbat sapientem*, A disgrace, or contumely will trouble a wise man. S. Paul himselfe might seeme *humanum pati*, when he called him whited wall, that made him be smitten. What maruell then, if *Achilles* smote *Thirsites* for his foule mouth, though otherwise a man, that was not easily mooued. The best men will not soone giue cause. But *vir iracundus prouocat rixas*, A hastie man, or a chollericke fir will still be quarrelling, and prouoking; euer vrging, euer misconstruing, neuer without a caprich, or two in store. An other man as good as hee, will neuer doe it, but leaue it to scouldes in allies, and alehouses. Hee will alwaies keepe himselfe in compasse of manhood as neere as he can, and neuer debase himselfe to such vnworthy doings.

And there is a plaine precept for it, *Nolite prouocare*, If I may not vrge my childe, or seruants to anger, how much lesse my fellowe, or my better. The law giues fauour to man-slaughter, if he be prouoked. But there is not a greater infamy to a noble person, then to prouoke or to be accounted a quarreller. It is vnbecomming a woman, much more a man at armes. Quippes, girdes, flaunte, tauntes; farre be they from yee I beseech you. They are but seedes of scoulding, the scumme of a womans witte; though some women delight in it, and thinke it worth printing euery word they speake. Words breede quarrels. and of quarrelling comes blood-shedde. An old *Coronell* of ours reioyced on his death bedde; that hauing beene in many broyles in his life, and many times prouoked, he neuer gaue cause of quarrell by word or deed, and yet he would not turne his face from any



man breathing.

To detract, or reueale a mans secret, if it be not against the state, or much hurtfull to his friend, is very vnworthy a gentleman, and breedeth much quarrell. A man of sort would be loath to be thought a blabbe, or tell-tale. It begins with idlenesse, and endes with damnation. *Granado* saith there be multitudes in hell for nothing else, but this. They say there would be no theeues, if there were no receiuers. And surely there would be no picke-thanks, or slanderers, if there were no hearers to delight in them. *S. Augustine* had written about his dining bord these verses:

Possid.

*Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere vitam,  
Hanc mensam vetitam nouerit esse sibi.*

This table them forbidden is,  
In English thus

That of the absent speake amisse.

Prou. 24.

*Nemo sine crimine uiuit*, No man liues without a fault. But he that proclaimeth it, is worse then he, *Abominatio hominum detractor*, the backe-biter is holden abhominable; and to be shunned as a venemous thing. And for this cause onely it hath beene allowed in Italy, that the wronged should giue the wronger a *Cartella*, to fight with him. How iustly, I will not now speake. Neither speake I of the sinne to God-ward; which I leaue wholly to preachers. I touch it onely in point of dishonour, and as they be aspersions to reputation; which both the wronger is bound to recompence, and the wronged may iustly require. I touch them as they be make-bates, and leaue a staine behinde them in anothers coate, beeing slanderous, and scandalous to fame, and sooner raised, then remooued, if not repaired in time. *Conturbat sapientem*, It troubles a right wise body, to haue the lye, or a foule word giuen him, which we vse to our Page, or varlet. *Conturbat sapientem*, To haue a frumpe, or a scoffe, or a bore in the nose; much more a stripe, or a trippe at his heeles; and no maruell if it cost bloud, or sound blowes, ere they part. These mat-  
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ters are holden as small with vs, as they be common. But the Romanes held them very shamefull, and censors taxed the cause-giuer with *ignominie*, and shame, which they vsed not to any man, but vpon great cause, besides losse of his horse. Plat.vit.

To you my deere countrey men, and friendes (I must tell you) it is the principall scope of my speech; that howsoeuer your sudden occasions of heate may carry you at any time somewhat further then vpon aduifement you would, to breake the peace or bond of charity with any; and for which I can giue you no other rule, then the measure of Gods grace in you: yet vpon time of deliberation, and space betweene; that is to say vpon cold blood, which was the other part I spake of, I doe wish much, and if I might I would command you, as we doe in the warres, that ye neither challenge your opposite into the field vpon any occasion; or if ye be challenged; that ye doe not accept it. Being a thing, both heinous in the sight of God to doe, and no lesse then *heresie* to thinke yee may doe. This may bee newes to some of you. But not so newe, as true. Euill fashions driue olde folkes to *Schoole* againe. And the eldest of you is not too olde to learne, if any of ye be possessed with that pestiferous opinion. That it is heinous, and sinnefull, it appears by this, for that it is against the lawe of God, of nature, and nations. If against the lawe of God, then *heresie* also to holde it lawfull. This is in short, but I will make it more plaine to you, because it is a thing, yee must informe your selues in, and it is grosse to bee ignorant of.

Single combat is honourable, if it bee in iust warre, or commanded by the *Prince*, or common-weale. As *Dauid* did against *Goliath*, for auoiding of blood-shedde of many by the blood of one. Many in this kinde we finde in histories, of one to one, or more to more, to weaken or discourage the contrary; and wee reade them willingly in our bookes. And God hath fauoured it so, that it hath saued the liues of many for the time. Wee haue also an ancient tryall for title of land, or appeales of felony by single com-



Nauar.

bate, where matters bee so obscure, or otherwise carried, that common lawe or iustice can hardly decide them. And the forme is yet in vse, but seldome suffered by Magistrates to take effect, as fauouring more of heathenish times, when such customes began, then of Christian lenity, which thanks be to God hath almost worne it away. This kinde of combat also is needfull sometimes, and men be forced to it in defence of ones person, or purse, or honor, to auoide a bastinado, or such like disgrace. But this must be as the learned say out of Saint *Augustine, in delicto flagrante*, vpon assault, or a waite; and *cum moderamine in culpatâ tutela*, Intending onely their iust defence, and not otherwise. It must not be, if any meanes else be by flying backe, or stepping aside sayes the Lawe. But I holde it probable with others, that if one assault me, let him stand to his perill; he forces me to fight; I meete him not of purpose, nor vpon challenge, which I may not doe, nor any authority vpon earth can giue leaue to doe, nor scarce conniue with, against the law of God, thou shalt not kill.

Exod 20.

The learned hold, that by killing heere, is vnderstood murther. And this difference is betweene *killing*, and *murthering*, as betweene an act done of authority, and of our owne head. *Killing* is lawfull for Iustice, and for example. *Murther* alwaies vnlawfull, and damnable. And not onely the act of murther, but all that tends to the act is hatefull to God, and his Angels. Your *challenging*, or *accepting*, your prouiding weapons, and preparing them, your going out of dooers, and entring the fielde; the drawing of your sword, hitting, missing, wounding, maiming, killing or not killing; euery one of these is detestable, and abominable; euery steppe you set forward in this businesse, is a steppe to hell, and irreuocable woe. And that this is true which I say, or shall say, I could bring you excellent authorities out of diuine writers, that handle these matters in particular, and purposely; in their titles of *Homicide, duellum*, and tempting of God.

But my purpose is not to reade you a lecture, or to make you any long discourse with vouching, or proouing. And if  
yee



yee thinke me wrong, or that I grate ouer hard vpon any mans distemper, aske any that haue learning, and cure of your soules, and they will tell you as much, and will shew it you out of their bookes, if yee will beleeeue them. And yee ought to beleeeue them in their owne art, as yee will be beleeeued in yours. You know best, how to vse your weapon; they know best when yee may drawe it. And this was that Saint *John Baptist* taught souldiers, and gaue them directions in, both for iustice, and charity, when they came vnto him, to know, what they should doe. The Church liues now by the same breath it did then, and the spirit of the *Precursor* perished not with his person. His doctrine, and directions doe still remaine in the breast of our pastours, with whom I haue conferred ere now, and haue read somewhat my selfe; and what I finde by some studie, and conference, I willingly impart vnto you out of my loue. Euen that which hath cost mee many howers, and daies, I lay before you, as court keepers doe, in an howers charge; both what yee must know in this businesse, if ye be ignorant; and what ye must practise, and are bound to forbear, when yee know it.

The law of God is directly, you may not kill. And Christ addes a curse to it, *Qui gladium acceperit, gladio peribit*, Hee that shall take the sword in his hand, shall perish by the sword. *Virum sanguinum, & dolosum abhominabitur dominus*, God will detest him, and holde him abominable, that will steale the sword out of the magistrates hand: for what is this *virum sanguinum, & dolosum* here, the man of blood, in guile; but hee that steales reuenge, and rights himselfe so as publike iustice shall not know of it? Yee see what the Psalme saith of him. God will holde him abominable. And in another place if I bee not much deceived, wee are forbidden directly to doe it, with a grievous curse annexed thereunto by the Holy Ghost it selfe, the words bee these: *Cum audace non eas in desertum*, Goe not out with an audacious body into the desert, (saith hee) Goe not out alone as Duellers doe. For heere bee both parties touched very plainely as I take it. First the cause giuer by  
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Mat. 6.

Psal. 5.

Eccl. 8. 19.



this word audacious, or foolehardy ; so called heere, *Quia quasi nihil est apud eum sanguis*, Because bloodshed (saith he) is as nothing to him. Likewise, the wronged by this word [*non eas*] Goe not thou, or bee thou not audacious as hee is. Goe not into the field with him. *Vbi non est adiutorium* <sup>1</sup> *elidet te*, God will giue thee ouer for thy temerity, that hee <sup>2</sup> shall kill thee, though thou bee a better man then he. Thou <sup>3</sup> hast withdrawne thy selfe from man, and God hath with- <sup>4</sup> drawne himselfe from thee. *Non est adiutorium*, How canst <sup>5</sup> thou speede well, that hast neither God, nor man on thy side ? These Scriptures and many more, beeing so euident against it ; I doubt not to adde, and inferre vpon it, that it is not onely sinne to doe , but also heresie to holde. What is *heresie*, if this bee not *heresie* ? Wee neede not a councell to make it *heresie*, when Scripture is contrary to it, as blacke is to white. It is *heresie* to holde fornication lawfull, swearing lawfull, stealing lawfull, and so killing lawfull. And he that seeth not this to bee sinne, his opinion herein may well be his punishment for his sinne.

Haply they will distinguish and thinke it *heresie* with me for wilfull murder, but not for this. It is one thing to come behind a man, and kill him cowardly, another thing to goe into the field with him vpon equall tearmes, with like weapons, like health, and strength, to trie their fortunes by manhood ; and this they will not be perswaded to be *heresie* in holding, or scarce sinne in doing. What shall a man dare <sup>1</sup> me, and thou me to my face (say they) and bid me meete <sup>2</sup> him if I dare ; and shall I not dare to meete him without <sup>3</sup> *heresie*, or sin ? *grace* they say helpeth nature, not destroyeth <sup>4</sup> it, and the nature of man is *gloria appetens*, desirous of honor, and differs from a beast in nothing more, then in this. Take <sup>5</sup> honor, and reputation from vs, and take away our life. They <sup>6</sup> goe forward also, and tell of many worthy persons, that haue <sup>7</sup> lost their liues thus for their honour ; and it were impietie to <sup>8</sup> Iudge them of *heresie*, or damnation, beeing otherwise <sup>9</sup> known while they liued, to haue many good parts, and ver- <sup>10</sup> tues in them, which made them gracious in the world. Nei- <sup>11</sup> ther doe I hate my enimie say they, when I aske my due with <sup>12</sup> my



my sword ; no more then plaintifes and defendants doe in their suites of law. They sue for their goods, and wee for our honour. And then they fall to reckoning ; what good hath come of it sometimes, when the impostume of their stomacks, and courages hath beene broken with some blowes, they haue beene greater friends after, then euer enemies before. And this is commonly the effect of their Argument, the summe of all they can say. And it is no hard matter to answer.

I will not speake of the dead, they bee gone, and God forbid I should iudge them. Many braue men haue pittifully perished that way. And what time they had for repentance, or how farre their ignorance might excuse them, I know not. Gods mercies doe so farre preuaile with his iustice ; that wee must leaue it to him. I speake of those, and to those, that be liuing. Neither like I that friendship they speake of, that comes of sinne, like *Herod* and *Pilate* made friends by killing of Christ. Wee are forbidden expressly, not to kill at all. How can they thinke that they may kill, but it must bee *heresie* ? God saith they may not, they say they may. Their distinction betweene wilfull murther, and this, is somewhat, but not for this purpose. It shewes the one sinne to bee more beastly, and cowardly then the other, not that the other is no sinne; or not *heresie* to hold so. They may prooue aswell fornication to be lawfull, so they meane to marry after ; lawfull to steale, so they meane to restore, when they are able ; lawfull to sweare idlely all the oathes of God, so they doe not forswear ; yet all this is sinne to doe, and *heresie* to holde ; and such distinctions will not saue it either from Gods law, or from mans. And for *graces* helping of nature ; that is nothing to our matter. *Grace* helpes nature in good things, not in badde. And it is blasphemy to vse the word *grace* in that sort, as to animate vs to sinne, or to breaking of charity, or to get honour so dishonourably.

They say they hate not their enemy. I answer, they shall not bee iudged by their sayings, but by their doings. If they doe the actes of hatred, their sayings are but colours. Make the best of their case, that they goe not to fight, that they



goe not to kill, but to defend if neede bee, and to shewe themselves onely, that they dare meete their enemy in the field, and bee as good as their word. If he draw (say they) I will drawe. If not, I haue nothing to say to him. I will neuer assault him. But this is too *mathematicall*. How many bee there that goe so into the field? and yet most of vs know two noble young gentlemen now dead; my Lord of *Digion*, and Count *La-vall*. This latter had beene somewhat wilde, but much reclaimed of late. These two had beene at high words, and comparifons, and *Digion* challenged him, and they mette next day accordingly with either of them a Page. *La-vall* threw off his cloake, and his rapier after it vndrawne; and tolde *Digion* hee would not fight. Why comest thou hither then said hee? because I „promised thee said *La-vall*, and my word slipt from mee „by chance. And yet I feare thee not (said hee) but I will „not displease God, for a better man then thou. Thou hast „done mee wrong, and I haue done thee some; and so hee „fell a dancing, with a turne and a halfe aboue the ground. *Digion* was angry, and tolde him hee would disgrace him, and make a boy of him, if hee would not fight. And therewithall came towards him with a light thrust. *La-vall* put it by with his dagger, and followed it quickly with a close. *Dignons* foote slipt, and fell, and *La-vall* vpon him, saying: now I could send thee to the diuell: but thou shalt goe to „the *Bishop* first for absolution, and so gaue him a kisse on „his cheeke, and returned both friends, and did great seruice „heere against the *Turke* after that; where they lost their liues with as much honour as might bee, as the world doth know. But how many be there, that goe so scrupulously into the field as he did? And yet this going is sinfull, and vnexcuseable, and by God forbidden, though yee make the best of it yee can.

When God forbids murther, he forbids three things. The act, the intention, and all manner of concurring. The act is damnable, the intention of killing is damnable without act; and the least concurring that is, comes little short of it. And there be nine manners of concurring, as may appeare by  
an



an olde disticke.

*Iussio, consilium, consensus, palpo, recursus,  
Participans, mutus, non obstans, non manifestans.*

Here be nine words according to the seuerall waies of concurring either to murther, or any other notorious sinne; as the learned doe define. And it is *heresie* to defend the least of them. Ye would thinke *consensus*, and *palpo*, were but small matters; the one for consenting that a couple should fight, the other for animating, and encouraging them to fight, by praising it; and soothing them vp. These be the least, and yet very grievous matters, and common-wealths, and lawes take hold of them in case of felony, or treason, and they are punished little lesse then principalls. Euen so in Gods court, the curious looking on, or negligence in parting, is inuolued in the same sinne, and censure. *Heli* was pittifully punished for wincking at his sonnes abuses, and not punishing them. *Consentientes, et agentes pari pena plestentur*, saies the lawe. And *Saulus erat consentiens neci eius*. *Saul* was as deepe in the murther of Saint *Stephen* for standing by, and keeping their cloathes, as others that stoned him. This is the lawe of consenters, this the lawe for counsellours, and abettors; this for flatterers, and encouragers, how much more then for actors, and deede-doers.

1 Reg. 4.

Act. 8.

More then this I haue knowne, where the partie could neuer be prooued to know or consent to murther, and yet hath iustly suffered for it. As it happened lately in *Tholosa*, where a great iustice was done vpon *Madamoisella violenta*, a yong woman of good breeding, beautie, and comelineffe, if shee had bin honest. But shee was kept by two, a merchant, and an *Augustine* fryer. Who to colour their lewdnesse, put a husband to her. This husband deceiued their expectation, and sent her into the countrey twenty mile off, that he might haue her alone to himselfe. But this cost him his life. For he was murdered on an euening in the backside of the towne as he was crossing the fieldes. The procurers, and one or two more were executed for it, and the poore woman for company, that knewe nothing, as I said.



The relation is newly come to my hands in print. Yee may reade it anon at your pleasure. And ye may not blame iustice for it; For she gaue the first cause her selfe : Her lewdnesse was cause of it. Though not *causa proxima*, yet as *causa remota*. Fighting and murthuring are necessary handmaidens, if not two of the daughters of luxury; and in so heinous a crime as this, will suffice to condemne their mistresse *ex presumpto*. And although the lawe be not so in other places for death; yet it is good cause of fortune any where without further prooffe. Whereupon I inferre ; that if this bee the lawe of consenters, yea of not consenters also in the case aforefaide ; what shall a man then thinke of himselfe , that doth not onely know , but consent, not onely consent, but is the very instrument of killing and butchery?

Will it hold our Duellors any plea, that he meant not to kill ; that he went but to saue his honour without killing if he could? that the worst he intended, was but to drawe blood of him? wil any of these quit him vpon trial of twelue men, or before God when hee comes to answere it there ; where his enemy shall charge him with his blood, and perhaps with his soule, ô that will bee a dreadfull account. *Christ* brought it, the diuell stole it away, and this man was his instrument? Why should men of reason pretend to shift a crime off from them so sillily, as if God saw them not? the sworde his, the hand his, the quarrell his, not meeting by chance, but of purpose. The wound giuē by him, wherof a man dies ; and yet he meant not to kill. And what if he died not? before God it is all one ; when he did his good will. Sinne is sinne, though not wholly accomplished. Say a man goes not to fight: Yet he goes where he is likely to fight , and he knowes he shall be put to it, is put to it, fights, hurts, kils, or not kils, all is one. He fares like one that thinkes no woman can tempt him, and is confident, and in this minde, goes idly where lewd women be, is tempted for his pains, and goes not free. Is this no sinne, because his going was not to sinne ? what folly were this to thinke so ? He went where he was likely to sinne, and had no other likely cause of going; he had no other businesse there, but tryall, & temptation



tation; euen so in our case. He hath no other businesse in the field, but vpon challenge. And the challenge was to fight, and fight ordained to killing.

And therefore, let no man say, it was against his will, that he fought, or killed; when it was not against his will to obey the challenge, and to come to the place. Let no man say he killed him, or, hurt him by chance: his foote slipt, and he ranne him through vnawares. Let it be so: yet he killed him willingly; because he came thither willingly. For had he not come vnlawfully, he had not vnlawfully killed. If a man be madde, and kill, he is not charged with it, because he was not willingly madde. But if a drunken man kill, he is charged with it, because he was willing with the cause, which was drunkenness. And this the learned call *Volitum in causa*, Which is enough to make murther wilfull, though he could not be aware of what hee did in his drunkenness. Now see the case how it stands. I accept a challenge; I should not. I meet at the place of combat; I ought not: I am there assaulted; I may defend. I am like to be kild; I may kill, yet murther before God, and man, if I kill: why so? my distresse makes it lawfull to kill, rather then be killed. But being the whole authour of my owne distresse by comming, the killing is vnexcusable. If I had taken away the vnlawfull cause, which was my comming, there had neither beene killing, nor any such need. I am cause of my owne neede, when I needed not; cause of my owne distresse when God would not; guilty of murther therefore if I kill; guilty of my owne death (which is horrible) if I be killed.

It were not my part to terrifie you as I doe, if it stood any way with Gods will, to doe as the vulgar doe. I am a souldier as you are, and would not haue you touched with the least dishonour, or losse of any honour, that might iustly be saued. I protest vnto you, I know not with the feare of God how to abate yee one word of that I haue saide. I speake here but of the least sinne in this kinde, that is mixed with some feare, or scruple of conscience, if any such be amongst Duellors. I seldome heare of it. There be but few such examples. And if any be, yet I holde them not excu-



fed, for my reasons aforesaide. What should I speake now of the commonest practise at this day? their bowe bent, their stomacke pent, till they be at it. Their doings bewray their intentions. They say, and sweare sometimes, that they will kill, or be killed. They search one another to the skinne, that there bee no let of speeding; runne at tilt one at another, to be sure to speede; two courses make an end of one, or both. And if one of them chance to be scrupulous, how long will it last, if a wound begin to smart once, or the blood to couer their eies? how can these escape the vengeance of God, that goe to kill, or bee killed, and glory in it, when they haue done. He shall be praysted of men for it; shall be called stout, a man of his hands, a braue man; and why? he hath killed two or three. So prophane we bee growne; not satisfied with doing ill, but we must glory in it. *Diabolus est homicida*, The diuell is a murtherer, and wee will bee next cosins to him.

t Ioh.

Can any thing be more against God, then this? Is it not strange in a Christian, to thinke this honourable, or good, that dishonours God so much? Bee there any heretikes in the world, if these be not heretikes? Be they not iustly excommunicated by holy Church, iustly forbidden buriall in Church, or Church-yard? and not onely they; but their abettors, ayders, and encouragers, and lookers on? so hateful is it in the sight of God, and the Church our mother; and so dangerous to the soules of the poore *Combatants*, that are all excommunicate in *terrorem*, euen to the stander by. The party slaine is forbidden buriall for two causes, vnlesse he had time to repent him, and gaue good signes of it, and denied not his enemy forgiuenesse. The one is, because hee dies excommunicate: the other because hee kills himselfe, and is in case of *felo dese*, by reason aforesaide. Marke my words well I beseech you, and be well aduised on the matter; especially, if any of yee be of that opinion, ouerswaied with the time. The more ye wade into the businesse, the truer you shall find my words. Blinde not your selues with ill custome. Let not the newnesse of it, (if it be new) diminish the credite of it in your greene conceits. The lawe of God

I am



I am sure is not new, how new soeuer in our practise. What should I say more to Christians?

Yet somewhat I should also say of the lawe of nature, or nations, which was long before this. The law of nature was *quicumque effuderit sanguinem humanum, fundetur sanguis illius*, His blood shall be spilt, that spills the blood of another. This is the booke of Genesis. And if a man will haue a reason of it, a reason is there giuen. *Ad imaginem quippe Dei factus est homo*, He that kills a man, kills the image of God; Why should I spite him, or malice him? Hee is my owne Image, though neuer so hatefull in my eie; why should I strike him, except God bid strike, or the common weale? But note I beseech you the punishment annexed to it. Blood will haue blood. *Fundetur sanguis illius*, It shall cost him his life. And the Hebrew hath *per hominem*. As he killed a man, so a man shall kill him againe. That is to say the magistrate, or executioner, by *lex talionis*. And this hath beene the practise of all nations. No hiding would serue their turne, but they were mette withall at one time, or other, as heathens themselues haue noted, and haue admired Gods prouidence in it. And if some haue escaped, yet this breakes no rule, but among *Epicures*; who attribute all to fortune, while God (they thinke) is a sleepe, or neuer mindes vs. Gen. 9.6.   
 ibid. 18.

Against whom I remember a graue saying of *Isocrates* in his Oration *de pace*; wishing them if they be wise, not to hope of impunitie, because some are not punished. For if „there be some that escape (saith he) yet the most doe „not. And therefore it were wisdom to prouide for that, „which is most common, and likely. And it is most fond „(saith he) when God is knowne to loue Iustice, to thinke „that hee cares not for the iust; or that the wronged shall „haue worse fortune then the wronger. Thus he. And tru- „ly it is an olde tradition of the Iewes, that *Caine* himselfe, before euer there were Magistrates, could not escape this heauie iudgement, to be killed by man, although he had a marke set on him, that none should kill him. But such was Gods iudgement, as he could not auoide it. Blinde La-



*mech* flue him by meere chance. And this traditiō is affirmed in effect by scripture in *Lamechs* owne words, saying: *Occidi virum in vulnus meum: septuplum vultio dabitur de Caine;* *I haue killed a man to my owne wound, seauenfold reuenge will be giuen to Caine.*

Gen. 4.

Kings themselues, that are heades of magistrates, could not auoide this animaduersion. *Saul* for killing the fourescore Priests, lost his owne life, and his sonnes life, and a kingdome besides. *Dauid* lost his childe (when hee had rather perhaps haue lost his life) for murthering *Vrias*. Queene *Iesabell*, and *Achab* both slaine, and seauentie of his sonnes for killing *Naboth*. And although our Duellors fault were not so cowardly, or tyrannicall as these: yet our Ancestours haue holden it a great vnhappines, to kill one by chance, or with least fault; and that many disasters belong to it, if they pray not the more earnestly all the dayes of their life. How much more then, if the chance were by notable negligence, as fencing, wrestling, throwing a stone at a dogge, and hit a childe, coyting ouer a house without warning to passengers. These, and such like, had a seauenfold curse, as it was vpon him, that killed *Caine*, though it were by casualtie. And hereof I thinke it was, that seauen yeares penance was inflicted by the olde Church for such actes. Where now it is brought to one; besides imperiall lawes for the outward offence. How much more yet, if the chance were of an vnlawfull acte; but most of all, if of a bloody, or of a reuengefull minde, as it is with Duellors. King *Dauid* saith; their dayes shall be cut into halfe. *Viri sanguinum non dimidiabunt dies suos.*

1 Reg. 22.

2 Reg 11.

Scholia  
Raym.

Psal. 54.

n Mat.

But to returne to our matter; and to leaue the Scriptures, and Church lawes; because they be not altogether our profession, and the word, and the sword seeme contraries, and they that be ill disposed haue no skill of it: For as *St. Hilarie* saith: *Sermo Dei carnalibus tenebrae sunt, & verbum Dei infidelibus nox est*, Scripture is darke to the carnall, and night to the vnbeleeuing: Let vs stirre vp therefore the light of nature in vs, and see what nature tells vs, and the practise of worthies, that is receiued, and commended of all. Wereade  
of



of noble heathens, that killed themselves; But they are not commended for it. Some others had other vices, and are condemned for it by good writers. But what they haue practised, and are commended for by the best, is likely to bee good; and what they vsed not, neither is written of them that euer they did, is likely to bee naught, and vnworthy the worthiest.

The trumpets of nature, and vertue, are *Philosophers, Poets*, and histories. These acknowledge no such tryall of manhood, when they discourse of fortitude, and magnanimity, the two vertues, that gentlemen so much ayme at. They talke of honour, ignominie, contumely, and disgrace. They will not haue a stout man put vp iniuries basely. They touch many particular behauiours belonging to him. His speech sober, without a word vnbecoming; his actions aduised, without touch of temerity; his carriage graue, and staide, without leuity; in righting himselfe, not ouer hasty; if angry, yet not forgetting himselfe. They descend particularly, to tell how hee must goe, and with what composition of body, on horsebacke, or on foote, in all things worthy of themselves, and not a word of combate; vnlesse it were for their countrey, or common-weale. Yee shall not finde such an instance in *Plato, Plutarke, Seneca*; not in *Aristotle* the prince of Philosophers, and was himselfe a souldier also in the battell of *Corronea*. Not in all *Homer*, who was (as a man would say) the light of nature speaking, and the setter out of all heroicall vertues, in the practise of great *Princes*. His worke was *Alexanders* looking glasse, and was neuer out of his hand. *Tully* sayes, hee that can repulse an iniury and will not, offends as much as if hee forsooke his friends, and kinsfolke. But hee talkes of no repulsing by fight. He bids vs *pugna pro patria*, Fight for our countrey, but not for our priuate.

Arist. etb.

Strabo.

Many priuate grudges yee shall reade of vpon malice, and emulation amongst them. But wisely carried, and neuer breaking out to this enormity wee speake of. *Agamemnon* wronged *Achilles*, to take his mistresse from him, and some bitter words past betweene them for it; but neither blowe,



nor challenge. Many iarres betweene *Palamedes* and *Vlisses* alwaies, but no challenge. Some betweene *Fabius* and *Minutius*, betweene *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, and betweene *Cymon* and *Pericles*, *Pompey* and *Lucullus*, *Craterus* and *Ephestion*, *Castinus* and *Boniface*, *Bellisarius* and *Narses*. And of later times, when the Earle of *St. Paul* gaue the lye to the Lord *Himbercourt*; and the Duke of *Orleans* gaue the like to the Prince of *Orange*, all braue men, and knights of the field, and a multitude besides, which were tedious to recite; yet none came to challenge; but either they thought it enough, to haue giuen their opposite as good as they brought, or haue left reuenge to God, or iustice, or to mediation of friends, as cause required, or haue yeelded to time, person, or place, for their greater honour afterward; as *Achilles* and *Metellus* did; or tryed their valour against their common enemy, as *Valerius* and *Cecinna* did vnder the Emperour *Vitellius*.

And yet vpon accusation of treason in great persons, where other proofes bee not pregnant enough, as it was in *Richard* the seconds time betweene *Hereford*, and *Mowbrei*. *Dictis* writes of *Palamedes* that hee challenged all his peeres to fight with them one after another. But they would not, beeing all fellowes and colleagues with him. No more would *Otho* Duke of *Bauaria* with his accuser *Egino*, though much vrged thereunto by the Emperour *Henry* the fourth; and yet the historie calles this Duke *Prudentia & rebus bellicis admirabilem*. But hee chose rather to lose his Dukedome, and so did. And yet I must tell you; as this Emperour was greatly blamed by his owne mother, a most worthy woman, and by all the Princes, except a few, who set him on to this iniustice: so can I not but maruell at two of our later Kings, the one of *France*, the other of *England*; the one so prudent and pious, as he was, that he gaue way so easily, to a combate betweene two noble gentlemen *Sir James Parker*, and *Hugh Vaughan* vpon a farre lesse quarrell then false accusation; wherein the knight was run through the mouth at the second course by fault of his helmet, and his tongue borne backe to his necke, whereof hee instantly dyed.

Comines.

Suet.

Nauch.



died. The other of France began his raigne with blood; giuing way to a combate between *Jarnac* and *Chastenroy*, vpon no great matter, but to grace his triumph with: where *Jarnac* though newly recouered of an ague, defeated the other at length, & killed him in the place. Neither of the kings much fortunate by it. The one was kild by *Mongomery* in like triumph at tilting after a short reigne: the other held not his crowne so void of feare, and iealousie, as other kings after him. And yet I maruell much more at other Princes of our time, who in their triumphs and iouiall feasts, allow of those dangerous and damnable sports of *Jogo de toro*, and *Jogo de Canna*, which commonly cost killing, & cannot be auoided. It is too like that *Romane* custome of fencers, & swordplay-ers, & those that knew not God. Who set their liues & blood to sale as *Linie* saith, for pastime to their Lords, or in honor of some feast, or generals fortune; where they spared not at sharpe, to kill one another, if they could. And so they continued many hundred yeares; and was not quite abolished by Christian Emperors til the time of *Honorius*, as *Theod.* writes.

Lib. 28.

in Hono.  
Steph. in  
Aphida.  
Iust.

Florus.

Plut. in  
Emilius.

Lib. 7.

Yet nothing more frequent in histories then single fight, as that of *Patroclus* and *Hector*, *Hector* & *Achilles*, *Xanthus* and *Melanthus* for the kingdome of *Athens*, *Codoman* and another for the kingdome of *Armenia*, the three *curiates* and *Horaces* in *Rome*, *Tullius* & *Metius*, *Manlius* & a french man, an other french man and *Valerius*, *Alexander* & *Porus*, *Ferracutus* the *Sarazen* giant & *Rolandus*, and of later times between *Turkes* and vs, where thanks be to God they went euer by the worst. But all these were *iure belli* (as I said before) from contrary enemies. And of all the combates that *Marcus Seruilius* fought for life, & death, which were three and twenty, and he conquerour in all; I reade not of any to be with his compatriot, but all with publique enemies in lawfull warres. And that was neuer vpon their owne heads neither, but with consent of *Generals*, as we reade in *Linie*. Yea though a man be challenged by name from the other side, as *Titus Manlius* was, and where it seemed reprochfull to haue refused it, yet it cost him his life the accepting of it. I will tell you the history.



The lawe of armes is, that none should fight in the wars out of their rancke, but by direction of the commanders. *Manlius* the father was generall against the Latines at Capua. The sonne had charge of a troupe of horsemen, and was sent to discover the coastes of the enemy. Where coming within an arrow shot of the corps de-guard, which *Geminus Metius* a valiant knight had leading of, they fell to some big, and daring words, & the Latin challenged the Roman to breake a staffe with him. Young *Manlius* his blood was vp at this, and thinking it a shame to him to refuse him, hee aduanced himselfe to the busines; they ranne their horses in full careere one against the other with speare in rest. *Manlius* with launce aloft glided ouer, and rased the enemies head-peece. *Metius* gaue the other a light thrust vpon his horse necke with point of speare. Then turning their horses about, *Manlius* came first vpon him with a second charge, and so redoubled the push, that hee pierced the others horse between the eares, which put him to such paine, that he neuer left rearing, and capring with his forefeete, and flinging downe his head till hee cast his rider. Who as hee bare his speare and shield, to raise himselfe from so grieuous a fall, *Manlius* ranne him in at the throat and so through the ribbes stucke him faste to the ground, killed him, spoiled him, carried the spoile away to his owne troupe, and had sentence of death on him presently for it, from his owne father, in lieu of reward. The iudgement I grant was seuer. And the execution prosecuted with much compassion, and teares. Yet none could say but it was iust, and the punishment answerable to his fault. And of great example it was, to reduce broken discipline to the ancient rule, as it would among vs now, if gentle meanes would not serue. Some difference indeede there is in our cases. Theirs was in time of warres, where challenges are lawfull. Ours in time of peace, where is no challenge lawfull. Yet in this they agree. There, they might not doe it without leaue of superiours; heere much lesse; yet if they haue leaue, I thinke it be lesse sinnefull.

And surely if we enter but into the causes of priuate combat;



bate ; which are common ly two; there is neither of both that will make the act iustificable. The one is reuenge, the other is reputation. And first for reuenge ; which is common also to beasts and sauages, and is more in sauages then in men; and therefore men must not doe as they doe; so reuenge be, they care not how it be. Men I say must looke higher then so, and then they shall finde this cause to be no cause, vnlesse they will stand in defiance with all ciuill gouernment, and God himselfe, who tells vs plainly to the contrary, *Mihi vindictam* saith he, *et ego retribuam*. He re- Rom 12.  
serues reuenge to himselfe, and to princes vnder him. And who is he, dares say againe, *Non tibi domine, sed mihi*, Reuenge is mine, and none of thine, I will right my selfe. And in another place it is saide, *Ne dixeris, vlciscar de inimicis meis*, Doe not so much as say I will bee reuenged of mine Aug.in  
enemies. And therefore, if we may not say it, much lesse may Steph.  
we doe it. Reade all the ciuill lawes that euer were, and see whether the sword were put into the parties owne hand. It is tolerated in Italy as I said before, as the stewes be, to auoide further mischiefe, and no otherwise. As God did likewise by the Iewes, that were a nation of all others most reuengefull ; he gaue some way to their stiffenesse, that *the next of kinne to the party slaine, might kill the killer when hee could*. But this was abolished by the comming of Christ. Num. 35.19  
Neither was it permitted him to kill, vntill the people had giuen sentence ; as it appeares by the text. Yea so farre was Ver. 24.  
the lawe from allowing otherwise this priuate reuenge ; and Ver. 27.  
so heauily taxed it all manner of manslaughter ; that if it were but chance medly, or in defence of ones selfe, a man was not freed from the rigour of it, if he were found out of sanctuary. To say nothing now, what vicinity reuenge hath with tyranny, and cruelty ; which those are noted to haue most, that are most cowardly, as the most noble and learned king of England hath written of late most significantly. Vpon the  
for so few lines, where occasion was giuen his maiesty, to Pater no-  
touch thereat; and thereunto I referre you. ster. pag. 80.

And as touching reputation, which was the other cause of combate, and is proper onely to man, and which hee



thinkes is greatly hurt, if he be wronged and challenge not, or if he bee challenged and answere not, in both which cases, if he be not answerable: hee shall be deemed a coward. I little weigh what they say, that are carried away with a vice *regnant*, Corrupt iudgements are no iudges of honour.

Iudith.

*Holofernes* his follower thought it a shame to let a faire woman passe them vntoucht. The vertuous thought not so. Yea: that alone is honour, which the worthiest thinke to be honour, as I shall shew anon. For this present I say no more but this. He that hath reuenge in his power, hath also iudgement of honour; let the vulgar say what they list. We pray for kings and magistrates thus. *Deus iudicium regi da, et iustitiam tuam filio regis*, For the king, that he may haue iudgement in choice of magistrates; for the magistrate, that he may haue will to doe vs right. *Da iustitiam tuam filio regis*. Who is the kings sonne but the magistrate, begotten of his greatnesse, and resembling him in power? We pray for him, yet we fly him when we haue done, and will be magistrates our selues. What, must we trouble Lawyers or Lords (say they) for euery blowe or word of disgrace? it shall neuer be said of me. This is it shall right me saith he, and clappes his hand on his hilt.

Psal. 71.

But what reason haue they to say it? if the matter bee great, the magistrate is ordained for it, to heare and determine. If it be small, why aduenture they their life for it, or seeke another mans? They scorne to doe as babes doe, to cry and complaine; yet will be worse then babes, to wrong themselves more then they be wronged. For if himselfe be killed, what extreame iniustice hath he done himselfe for a trifle. If he kill, he must hide his head for it, his friend may not receiue him til he be acquitted of it someway. The greatnesse of his penaltie shewes the greatnesse of his crime. And we see not whom we hurt, till we need him whom we hurt, which is our Soueraign. We wrong soueraignty to right our selues, and yet we seeke *Soueraignty*, to restore vs againe.

I prooued before, that it was not onely a sinne to doe, but an heresie to iustifie. Euen so in this case betweene our *Soueraigne* and vs, it is not onely against nature to doe these things



things, but also against loyaltie, to thinke wee may doe it. I said it was *heresie* in respect of *religion*. Now I say, it is hurt to maiesty in point of subiection. As king *Alexander* might seeme to take it, who was no meane *Iustizer* in martiall affaires. For comming iust to a fray betweene two of his fauourites that were ready to bee reuenged one of another with swordes drawne : hee was in great anger, and tolde them they should both dye for it, or hee that gaue the cause, if they did it againe. And this not for killing, or drawing of blood, but onely for the disloyaltie, and contempt of maiesty, in the very attempt. And yet yee must vnderstand mee right. I doe not say it is treason. For it is not to the person of the Prince, or estate. They intend nothing against Maiesty, yet would mince his authority. They loue the state, but they would pull from prerogatiue. They allowe them to bee their Iudges, but not in all things ; no, not in the greatest, that belongs to their charge. What greater thing in the world then life, and honour ? There be diuers markes of *Soueraignty*, which none can haue but *Soueraignes*. And it is a great contempt in the Subiect to vsurpe them. As power of peace and warre, power of making lawes and abrogating lawes, power to make money and alter money, power to make noble and vnnoble, and such like. But the greatest of all, is power of life, and death ouer the subiect. Yet this the subiect will assume to himselfe in part, and quarter prerogatiue with his Soueraigne.

And is it maruell then if *Henry* the fourth of France haue Edict. 1602 made it treason by parliament, and haue stopt his eares to all offenders in this nature ? Or can wee finde fault with the lawes in England, that a Duellor killing, is equally punished with a theefe stealing ? A theefe commonly hath not friends to speake for him. But *S. Peter* puts them together ; *Nemo vestrum patiatut vt homicida, aut fur.* 1 Pet. 4. A theefe steales for neede, the other killes for honour. If a man bee poore, yet hee must not steale ; if a man bee disgraced, yet hee must not kill. If either of both transgresse, the lawe makes no difference betweene them. Their paine is alike, therefore their fault alike.



*Arguit esse rerum lex capitalis eum.*

Their fault cannot bee small,  
whose paine is capitall.

No difference in punishment, therefore no difference in crime. No friend in parliament, hath mooued for altering the Law, either for one, or other, though the one bee the case of many a good gentleman. Whereupon as to this point, wee may boldely affirme, that your Duell, as it is vsed, and is equally punished with greatest faultes, so is it in his owne nature an euill thing, and tending to the greatest euill. It is offense to God, iniurious to Soueraignty, disgracefull to the common-weale, and that which remaineth further to be prooued, to themselves that bee the doers most of all dishonourable.

It is no small charge, I lay vpon Duellors; and it may be I bring a challenge vpon mine owne head for calling it dishonourable. Yet since I haue partly prooued it by the baseness of the punishment (vnlesse it bee so that they holde themselves *Martyrs*) I hope they will pardon mee, if I prooue it further. For I haue not so many heades, as I would aduenture in making this good. Diuines do prooue it sinfull, and I must prooue it dishonourable. And this I suppose were easily prooued, if our greatest souldiers, that haue beene, had written of this matter, that wee might produce their authorities. But it shall not neede. Their practise is a better testimony then any bookes. And yet wee may gather out of *Cornelius Tacitus*, who was himselfe a noble souldier and *Historiographer*; what hee thought of this businesse, when hee calleth priuate reuenge a vice. For, giuing a reason, why we are more reuengefull for a wrong, then thankfull for a benefit; he saith it is, because reuenge is a vice, and *vitium in questu est* (saith hee) *gratia oneri*, Vice makes shew of gaine, though a man haue but his will of one; where thanks is a burthen, because a man is bound to it.

And



And so *Polibius* another souldier, and an honourable person, companion with *Scipio*, in his second booke is so farre from our mindes in this ; that hee calles it *nefas interficere cinem*, A horrible thing to kil our countreyman any way. He commendeth single combate with a publike enemy, in his sixt booke, and extols the *Romanes* for vndertaking such challenges, but not *inter ciues*. Yea the practise of *Aetius* was quite contrary to ours ; who although hee were the greatest souldier in the west, and a terrour vnto *Attila* whom hee draue out of *Italy* with losse of all his men : yet he fled his priuate enemy, and emulator at home, and thought it either iniust, or dishonourable ; or both, to fight in that sort. And what doe wee reade of *Fabius Maximus* a great leader amongst the *Romanes*, when hee was bitterly prouoked by *Minutius*, and (as his friends thought) very intolerably ; his answer was as I haue reade, that hee thought them more cowards that were mooued with floutes, and taunts, then they that flye their enemy. Loe heere what our grand Master saith, that wee ought not to bee mooued, and much lesse reuenge our selues with word or blowe. Which when such an one as hee hath saide, beeing no light headed man, but deepe of iudgement, wee must thinke his authority to be a reason sufficient.

Paul. Diae.  
lib. 14.

Nauci.

But the onely man of *Mars* that hath giuen his opinion freely though somewhat sparingly in this businesse ; is a very late writer, but one who for wit and education could very well iudge of honour. And yet he spares not to set downe for perpetuall memorie ; that no man in honour ought accept a priuate challenge, beeing a thing so opposite as it is, to Gods law, and mans. The law of man (saith hee) hath appointed the Hangman to second the conquerour ; and the law of God hath appointed the diuell to second the conquered so dying in malice. Whereupon hee concludes it to bee both foolish, and base, to accept of such challenge as is so basely accompanied. All which hee hath reasons for, if a man will reade him. And it is not without cause that hee calles it base, and *Ruffin*-like, since the nature of cowardize will approoue the same.



For what is cowardize, but an acte against reason ; done for feare, in matter of courage. As to runne away at sight of drawne swordes, whereof hee had no reason, but his womanish feare. First wee haue prooued already single combat to bee an act against reason ; and I will prooue it againe thus. It is an act against the ende of euery commonweale, which is peace ; and therefore vnreasonable. It is an acte concurring with the inclination of beasts, if they could speake, and therefore vnreasonable. Wee see two dogges when they bee parted, they runne out of company to fight alone. And *Pliny* writes of a Lyonesse, that roamed vp and downe the desert to encounter the Beare, that killed her whelpes. But yee will say, I may forbid you as well to eate and drinke, and defend your selues, because it is the inclination of beasts. Not so, yee must make a difference betweene actes that bee naturall which must bee, and no law is against ; and actes of passion, which reason is alwaies against, vnlesse it bee in beastes that haue no reason. And therefore I prooue it thirdly to bee an act of passion, *ergo* vnreasonable. That fighting and reuenging be actes of passion, and stomacke, is prooued first *a contrarijs*. For the contrary actes of patience, and forbearance, are actes of reason, as I will shewe anon by examples of the worthiest ; *ergo*, reuenge must needes bee an act of passion. I prooue it againe thus. Passion commands reuenge ; delights in reuenge, is eased with reuenge, as the olde *Satyre* saith.

*Est vindicta bonum vita incundi us ipsa.*

It doth vs good reueng'd to bee,  
more then our life, or liberty.

How many haue killed themselves out of this passion ; and for want of reuenge, *ergo* an act of passion, and vnreasonable. And to say no more it is prooued sufficiently by all their confessions that come to dye for it, or dye in their beds, as my selfe am witnesse, although their stoutnesse vntill then, would not suffer them to see it. But I must prooue it

now



it now to be an act of feare also, which was the other part of my definition. And which although it seeme hard to prooue, because there is no signe of feare that appeareth, yet if we finde any feare at all, it will suffice.

There is a feare, which is of death or maim. But this they haue not, no more then vnreasonable creatures haue, when they assault one another. There is also an other feare which is a feare of shame, and disgrace with the vulgar; and that is a base feare, but yet they haue it. They feare not what the best thinke, but onely what the vulgar, and most thinke. And were it not for this feare, haply they would not fight.

*Quid non ausus erit, populi vitare cachinnos?*

What is it, they dare not doe,  
for vulgar feare, that longs thereto?

They feare more euery idle breath of a mans mouth, then losse of their life. They feare more what a shoppe-keeper sayes when they walke the streetes by him, then what a *Fabius Maximus* if hee were liuing. And this is that cowardly feare which God rebuked in *Jonas*, when he sent him to the *Niniuites*, to foretell their subuersion. But he would not go for feare of disgrace by it; regarding more what the common sort thought of him, then what God, or the people of God. *Jonas* was soone corrected for it; but people now a dayes will not see. They are ashamed, not to be vulgar, and feare where there is no feare, as *David* said, which is the basest feare that is. Psal. 135.

This the dastardly feare that another Prophet exclaimes against, saying: *Nolite timere opprobrium hominum*. Feare Esa. 51.  
not what the vulgar say, or thinke of you, that seldome thinke as they should thinke. For so the word *homines* here signifies the common or vulgar sort of men, be they *Noble*, Mar. 12.  
or others. So *Christ* himselfe vsed it, *Quem me dicunt esse homines?* Whom doe men say that I am? and presently after but what thinke you, saith he? as who should say, you



Cap. 21.  
Gal. 1.

that are not of the vulgar, what thinke y<sup>ou</sup> of me? So in Saint *Luke*, *Eritis odio omnibus hominibus*. So Saint *Paul*. *Si hominibus placerem Christi seruus non essem*. If I should please men, that is to say the common sort of men, I were not *Christs* seruant. Must no man please God; but Saint *Paul*? none but *Apostles* and preachers? none fly the vulgar leauen, but these? Did not *Salomon* so take it also, when hee called the vulgar fooles, *Stultorum infinitus est numerus*? An other calst them *inconditum vulgus*, the vnseasoned or distempered vulgar. Others *ignobile vulgus*, the base conceited vulgar, and *insipiens vulgus*, the doating vulgar, that iudge not rightly of honour, or any thing?

The last part of my definition was [in matter of courage] And matter of courage is, where a man may, and is bound in honour, to vse courage. If I see my friend assaulted; here is matter of courage to defend him. If my master, or seruant be in danger, and I runne away, here is want of courage. If I see a gentlewoman abused, or disgraced in the streete, and I can right her with my sword, the defence is honourable; and a thousand things besides, wherein to bee fearefull, or shrink away, is want of manhood, and courage, and the party to be charged in point of honour. But to say that that is honour or cowardize which the vulgar only thinke so, that, is (as our author saith) both foolish and base. And the king of France and Princes of the blood call it brutish madnes; & haue adiudged it no true honor. For who made the vulgar iudges of honour, that gentlemen should stand so in feare of their censures. Indeepe if they were brought vp as gentlemen be; or gentlemen brought vp as they should be; their iudgement and opinion might iustly be feared; and stoute men would not dare to doe as they doe, for feare of true shame. But the ground of honour is horribly mistaken by vs, which is not altogether in boldnesse, or hardinesse, but as it is imployed in vertue, and true prowesse.

Who is there in the world, can tell vs what is honour, if he know not what is vertue? Is it honourable to haue ones will in euery thing? Honorable to be on fire quickly, or  
giue

Edi<sup>t</sup>. of  
1609.



giue a scoffe readily, and to thrust into euery fray? these be gracefull things with a great many. But let no man tell me of honour in action, if it bee not for some vertue, that makes the motion. I holde *Hercules*, and *Theseus* honorable for strength of body, and durable nature, bestowed where it should be. I holde those souldiers honourable in times past, that wonne the crownes. One for entring first the enemies campe, called *Corona Castrensis*, another for scaling a wall first, another for bording a shippe first, and these were of golde; another of oake leaues called *Cinica*, for rescuing a citizen, as *Socrates* did by his fellow *Xenophon*; another of greene grasse, which was best of all, and was giuen to *Publius Decius Fabius*, and *Petreius* for some singular exploites, and raising of sieges. All bee honourable that doe honorable things; discouer treasons, saue blood from spilling, houses, and townes from burning with daunger to themselves. Honorable *Scipio*, *Hanniball*, *Pompey*, *Cesar*, *Alexander*; Honourable all men at armes, Graue Senators, and counsellors most honorable of all, next vnto Princes, that rule the world in their chaire, and giue to all men their due. And these may be called heroicall honours. But the bounds of honour goe further then this. There is honour due to all kinde of Excellency. And in the meaner sort it is called praise. Each profession hath honour, or praise with it, euen to the meanest that is. And as euery one excels in the same facultie, so are they more noble, or more praise worthy then other.

Now, which of all these doe our Duellors excell in, when they make challenge or answer? which of these vertues doe they shew in it? what innocent defend they by it? what good to the common? what duty to God, or man hath drawne them to it? Yee say honour is a vertue, and that yee fight for your honour. A faire Lady is precious, and yee fight for her loue. A satisfied minde is a good thing, and yee fight for obtaining it. And if you get any of these thus, yee say it is honourably gotten. Pardon me. I beseech you, It is not honourably gotten. It may bee stoutly and hardily gotten, but not honourably. Ye abase honour, when ye apply



it thus. Friendshipp is not friendshipp, if it be to a tray-tour. Duty to ones father is no duty, if it be to ouerthrowe a city, or common-weale withall. We may say, there is mettall, and courage in a villanous action, and matter of honour in a rebell dishonourably bestowed, as it was in *Clodius*, and *Catelyn*. Will ye wound your selfe to shew a passion of loue? or strike him that is next you to satisfie your minde? be these good meanes to get honour? and if it were good that we desired, were it honourably gotten, to get it so giddily *per fas et nefas*? Say your meaning be good, yet the meanes must be lawfull, else the act is dishonourable. And that this meanes is vnlawfull, I haue prooued already both by Gods lawe and mans law, and the light of nature. Choose which ye will stand to, it goes against you. Wine is pleasing, & profitable out of a cup, but good for nothiug if you powre it on the ground. So courage is indifferēt to good and euill; but neuer honorable with dishonorable circumstances.

Thinke not so basely of your courage, as to spend it so vainely. Thinke not so meanely of your manhood, as to trifle it away in boe-peepe, and least be-seene. Either ye be bad Oratours, that defend such doings no better, or else your cause bad, that hath no other ground for it but vulgar error; nor other authority for it, but a tumultuous plebiscite (as it were) without a *Senate*. The breeding of gentlemen is such (as I said) or ought to be such, as they should neuer doe amisse for want of knowledge. Howbeit because they be ignorant in these matters, and do not as they should doe, but measure honour by hardinesse onely, and thinke they haue found their helmet, when they finde but the feather, and seeke no further: hence it is that the common sort doe ill also, when they (they see) doe ill, that haue better breeding, and giue no better example.

But I may not stand too long with ye vpon a point, or exceede the bounds of a charge, especially when other things are to be spoken of, that are very considerable about this subiect. For besides the iniustice, and dishonour of it, which by your good fauours, and patience I haue prooued, and will appeare more plainly heereafter,



wee will see next, what manner of tryall it is ; to the end, that if it neither bee iust in it selfe, nor the tryall reasonable; wee may wholly exclude it from the societie of men. The tryall many times is such as a man would laugh at, if it were not so common, and many times vnhappy withall. Men be neuer souldiers vntill they fall out : and then euery country man is a caualeer. Young lawyers, and schollers bee souldiers ; the seruing-man, tradesman, and artificer is turned souldier on a suddaine. They will bee honourable in an instant, if they come to see fashions, and vpon their honours they will stand. The question betweene them is for honour, or honesty ; who belyed other, who wronged other, and was the honestest man. And they must try it by that, which they haue no skill in for the most part. They flye to another mans trade, and runne away from their owne. No other tryall will serue but at sharpe. That which is peculiar to men at armes for God, and their countrey ; they practise forsooth of their owne heades, and fall to thrashing one another, chance it as it list. I hard a merry story once, but it was true ; and a good iudgement vpon the case, by a knot of good fellowes, such as serued the turne.

Beeing once at supper in my brothers house the Duke ; newes was brought vs, of a fray newly passed betweene two of the meaner sort. The one I knew ; his name was Pot, a bigge fatte fellow. The other was an Ale-man, of stature finall, but nimble, and desperate. These two fell out in a ta-uerne, and appointed meeting next morning at foure a clocke, in a close at the townes ende. The Ale-man had pawned his dagger, and was driuen to goe out with his single rapier, that stucke at his beds head, and came to the place appointed first. Anon after hee spied his fellow as farre off come tumbling ouer a mudde wall, with a tree on his necke to his thinking ; but when hee came neere, hee saw it was a long raile, sharpened on the one side. But besides this, hee had two weapons more vnder his girdle. A long reaching rod, and a whip made of a bedstaffe. What (saies the Ale-man) doest thou think me an ox, or a dog, or a breeching boy, that thou comest in this sort ? and thou (saies



Pot) doest thou thinke mee a peece of beefe, that thou comest with a butchers pricke in thy hand ? I will lay you anon (syrra) ouer yonder blocke, and you shall feele mee as long as these laste, and so lettes driue at him with his raile. Backe goes the Ale-man, till hee could goe no further ; and then thought best to drawe his enemy into the middest of the field againe, and to runne round about him. Pot fearing hee would runne him in behinde, was driuen to turne round with him, till hee was almost turne-sicke, and craued parley. But the Ale-man would none of that ; but spying his aduantage to come within him, Pot strucke at him with a mighty blow, and brake his rapier all to peeces, and stucke his raile fast in the ground. And while he was struggling to get it out ; the Ale-man steppes to him quickly, and twitches his whip from him, and laide at his legges withall. The other leaues his raile, and drawes out his rodde, lashes him on the face, and almost cut off his nose. The Ale-man finding his buttons couered with blood, takes the butte end of the whip, and the other the great end of the rodde, and here began a new battell ; vntill Pot reaching at him to catch holde of him, the Ale-man by chance, hit him right vnder the eare, and laid him asleepe, and fledde. Next day in the afternoone, it was both their happes to meete at a blinde ale-house in an alley, and a new brabble towards, if company there had not stickled betweene them. They fell to vnripping of olde matters, and much adoe there was about wronging, and dishonouring. Till some of the standers by tolde them : yee were both fooles (masters) to deale with weapons yee had no skill in. And if wee had beene of your counsell (saide they) yee should haue both of yee met fasting in a morning, with a dozen of pots a peece, well filled, and haue tryed it out who should stand longest. And with this, they called for halfe a dozen fresh cannes, put both their honours in a pot, and made an ende of the quarrell. But to come to my purpose.

It is an olde saying, *quam quisq; nouit artem, in hac se exerceat*, Let no man goe out of his element, or skill. Let merchants deale with merchandize, and schollers with bookes :

euery



euery man meddle with his owne profession. It sufficeth a man to bee honest, though not honourable. What should a shoemaker goe try his honesty in the field with a hatter, that challengeth him ; but rather challenge him againe (as one did) to shewe him as good a Hatte, as hee can shewe a shooe. And this is manhood enough, if men bee not mad. What deformity were it in a gown'd man, or Alderman, or Iustice of peace, to become a cutter ? *Cedant arma toga*. So farre is it from cowardize to refuse a challenge in that case. And what difference is there betweene these and other gentlemen of quality ? All are bound alike for the peace, though all bee not sworne to it, as Iustices are. If any sort may doe it ; the kings men may, and squires for the body, *Pentioners*, *guard*, and other neere his person ; who ought to bee men of likely valour, or trust, and to feare no man : and yet wee haue prooued, that they may not doe it, when the precept is generall that none may doe it. And Princes take it not well, when persons so neere them be so highly carried away, as to transgresse so grossely. Princes themselues are sacred, and hate blood, if it bee not to saue blood, hate effusion, if it bee not to spare effusion. And if they were Gods, to know mens thoughts ; a bloody minde should neuer approch our Sanctuary of peace, to stayne his house, and bring a curse vpon it, where a blessing is due.

Lastly, if any else bee, that may breake the peace, a souldier may, and men of honour, whose speciall profession is to handle armes, and to stead their countrey that way as occasion serues. And yet there is no warrant for them to doe it. And wee reade how *Titus Quintius Crispinus* a *Romane*, would not doe it of his owne head, though neuer so much prouoked, and challenged most reprochfully by *Badius* from the contrary army, where it seemed most disgracefull to refuse it. And although hee vndertooke him afterward and ranne him into the shoulder aboue his shield at the first career, and vnhorst him, and made him runne away and leaue horse, and shield behind him : yet this was vpon suite first, and with leaue of his Generall. Which hauing, he could not refuse combate without cowardize ; but not



Lib. 25.

hauing, to refuse was honourable. And I tell it you for this. That if *Crispinus* could put vp so many reproches as *Liuius* sets downe for order, and duties sake in the warres ; is it not much more to bee done in peace ? if hee regarded not his priuate honour for the publike in warres ; shall wee beginne a ciuill warre (for so is your *Duell*) and preferre our priuate before the publike in peace ? if hee for those due respects, would breake no peace in warres, shall wee bee so rude and vnrespectiue towards the publike, as to breake peace in peace ? Is not the like obligation of subiects to superiours in peace, as it is in warres, or not rather so much greater as they haue lesse excuse for it, and more blame if it bee broken ?

But to forbear you a little, and to yeeld a little to ill custome, and bad applyed courage ; because yee shall not challenge mee, I will challenge you first. Let any man affoord mee a sound reason, why single combate should bee a true tryall of honour, or honesty ; as to say which of them was in the wrong, and which in the right ; or which more honorable, or valiant then other ; for that is all the question betweene them ; not who hath more courage, but who hath more honour ; not who more desperate, but who more wronged. That is it, they goe into the field for, to make their sayings good vpon each others body. Will conquest fall out alwaies with him that hath right ? Doe the valiant alwaies goe away with the victory ? If this were so, it were somewhat. But when it is not so, they that thinke so, tempt God, and sinne in presumption ; which I shall prooue vnto you thus.

As all our actions while wee liue are humane ; so our tryalls vpon difference must bee *humano more*. Wee must not looke to heare God speake, but by deputies and magistrates ; we ought not expect miracles, nor bee our owne Iudge. Else why doe wee not fight for our lands and goods, as the law of Lombards was with short staffe and target. Why fight wee not with our trespassour, but goe to lawe with him ? Before there were Tribunals, I maruell not much. But since there were lawes, and law-makers, and ciuill, and orderly



orderly gouernment; our learned hold it *piaculum*, a very tempting of God, to waiue publique iustice, and to be our owne tryers. If one call mee villaine, theefe, traytour, bastard, or periured; hee shall pay deere for it in body, or purse. If hee flaunder mee otherwise of sinne, or crime; I haue remedy in court Christian. Wee shall not neede appeale to fire, water, or sword, as they did in oldetime, when other iustice could not bee had. So *Tutia* fetched water in a sieue from *Tyberis*. And some haue floated aboue water, tyed hand, and foote. The Empresse to *Henry* the second, walked fifteene paces on hotte iron, as other haue done before her. And such an other like tryall there was litle more then a dozen yeares agoe. in the East-Indies, in the kingdome of *Malabar*. Which because it is rare, and may be suiting to my argument anon; let it not bee troublesome to ye that I set it downe, as I finde it written.

One *Jacob*, and *Achar* his wife a faire conditioned couple of the towne of *Mangata* after some children had betweene them fell at a little variance vpon suspition he had, that she was not altogether chaste. And this the good woman tooke so exceeding ill, measuring the depth of the wrong, by the height of her innocency; that she demaunded iustice of the heathen king, and would be tryed by fire. Forty daies she tooke to prepare her selfe with prayer, and deuotion. When the day of tryall was come, she also came. Thither came the king, and all his nobility, besides a number of Heathens, Moores, Iewes, and Christians not a fewe. Before whom a harth of fire beeing made in the front of the Church; she puts her selfe vpon her knees before the king, and lifting vp her eies to heauen, Lord Iesus Christ (saide she) our true God, that madest both heauen and earth; thou knowest the truth of my innocency. Make knowne I beseech thee to all this people heere, that Christian wiues if they follow thy commandements, commit no adulteries, nor falsifie their faithes, which they haue giuen their husbands. Shew to all these, that wee be not dishonest with any, or thinke of any thing more, then to accomplish thy law.



lawe, and to liue chafly with our husbands, in hope to haue children, and to increafe thy faithfull. I adore thee my onely true God, and I keepe thy commandements. Then turning her eies to the king; Sir faid fhee, you that be our king; we are bound by the lawe of Chrift, to render you obeifance. And here I fweare before you, and before all thefe, by the lawe of Iefus Chrift our Sauour, whom I worfhippe; that I haue not onely not committed adultery, nor wronged my husband; but alfo haue not any thing thought againft coniugall *chafity* which I owe him. And with this, fhe put forth her hands to one that laide greene leaues on them as their fafhion is, and another tooke a red hotte Iron barre, and laide it on the thinne leaues, which fhe held faft, vntill it was turned blacke; and then they tooke it from her. The king, and as many as would, drewe neere, to view her hands, which they found vntoucht, and likewise the leaues vnfcorcht. And the woman protested, fhe neuer felt any heate at all, fuch as was likely to hurt.

This ye may thinke, made a great aftonifhment amongst infidels, and ioy to Christians, when it pleased God to con-  
 Nacl. curre with it as he did. Euen fo againe for tryall by fword. Wee haue one notable instance amongst others in the Em-  
 Nacl. perour *Henry* the thirds time; who tooke to wife a faire young Lady, the king of Englands daughter. She was ac-  
 cused of incontineney by a feruant neere the Emperour, a man of monftrous bignesse and Giantly ftature, *As the Ger-  
 man writer faith.* And there was no man durft vndertake the  
 vertuous Ladies part, fo much as to fpeake on her behalfe; vntill in the end, fhe challenged the Giant to fight with a boy of hers, which fhee carried out of *England* with her. The time, and place was appointed. The onely comfort the Giant had in his wounded confcience, was the weakenesse of his enemy. His victory as hee thought was affured. But he was deceiued. God was greater then hee. For the boy aduentured fo boldly, and with fuch a fpirit towards him, not afraide of his bigge lookes, and fcornea, and heauie blowes, (which would beare downe an oxe) that after a few  
 boutes



boutes, he thrust him into the thigh, and wounded him so fore, that he could stand no longer. The *Emperour* at this was much confounded; and would haue had her againe. But he had more to doe for her second good will, then euer hee had for her first.

These and such like reserued tryals, wee heare, and reade of in case of extraordinary neede, and Gods particular fauour. Which euery one may not presume vpon as I saide. And to expect it of God, is to tempt God; and so is holden by the seruants of God, that are of learning and experience; as by the story I told you of the Indian woman, it may appeare. For although she escaped the fire marueilously; yet whether it was for her sake, or for conuersion of heathens vpon that occasion, God onely knoweth. And the Arch-bishoppe of Goa a very learned man, beeing then in the same towne by chance, about his visitation, would not onely not giue countenance to such a tryall with his owne presence at it, but rather misliked her that shee would take no other satisfaction when it was offered her; yea also when she came to him afterwards, hee tolde her plainly in the hearing of many; that it was not for her merit that God wrought this wonder; for we be all wretched and sinnefull creatures said hee, as long as we liue in this mortality. But it was for poore infidels, and heathens sake, that knew not the good of Christian marriage, nor how pleasing it is to God to holde onely to one (which was very grieuous to them) both in deede, and thought. By which words ye may see how little he accounted of this tryal; as of a tryall; although he gaue some way to it, because he would not abreuiate the hand of God amongst those blind infidels in an act, which otherwise he might thinke to be meere presumption, and tempting of God.

And this tempting of God is a greater sinne then we are aware of, and is so called, because we tempt him thereby to doe a miracle or extraordinary fauour vpon vs. As a *Guicci-cobin Fryar* did a little before our age. Who standing in *ardin. Comines.* contention with a certaine *Franciscan* in *Florence*, challenged him to walke with him through a great fire prepared of



purpose in the market place, with the *Sacrament* in his hand. And this is called *tentatio expressa*; a grosse tempting. And the Magistrates punished him for such attempting. There is an other tempting also which is called *Tacita*; when a man intends not actually to tempt God, yet what he doth, he hath no reason for, but tempting of God, and meere presumption. As one that is deadly sicke, and will take nothing, aske him why? God will helpe saith he, when he sees good. A man may say to him againe, doe you looke for a miracle? and in this they offend God presumptuously in time of the plague; that goe so boldly to visit the sicke, as if it were but an ague, and this for no other cause, but to visit, or to shew their boldnesse, and to boast of it afterwards that this they haue done, and how little they feare death; or how ready they bee for God, more then others are. If they will needes tempt God, let them doe it where they hurt none but themselves; and they are ill aduised that animate them therein, without all manner of neede. A Bishop likewise, or other eminent persons offend heerein, that are notably slandered, and will not stirre in it, but leaue it to God, hauing good iustice, and meanes for it.

Mat. 7.

Exod. 17.

Cap. 8.

The like of all lazie-bodies, that will take no paines for their liuing, saying God will prouide for them. Doe not all these tempt God? and say with him in the Gospell, Lord, Lord; but will doe nothing for themselves? And this *Tacit* or silent tempting comming alwaies of sloth, or pride, prouokes God much; beeing oftentimes ioyned with repining, and banding at authority, as the *Jewes* did against *Moses*, when *Moses* answered them againe, *Quid iurgamini in me, et tentatis dominum?* Why doe ye wrangle with mee, and tempt your Lord God? So *Iudith* to the priestes in *Bethulia*, *Qui estis vos, qui tentatis dominum?* Who are you that tempt God, when shee sawe them limite God to their lawes, and subiect him to their false feares, as *Duellors* doe? By which ye may see, it is no newe sinne I speake of. And wicked *Achaz* was so well instructed, as hee acknowledged it a sinne, when  
God,



God bad him aſke a miracle, and hee ſhould haue it. But pretending holineſſe, hee ſaid no, I will not aſke. *Non petam* ſaid he; *non tentabo dominum*, I will not ſinne in tempting thee; beeing holden euen then, a grieuous ſinne, and we cannot plead ignorance of it now.

But to come neerer our purpoſe; our *Duellors* ſinne this way in the groſſer manner. And I appeale to their owne conſcience, whether I ſay not true. *Briefely* thus. They ſeldome regard the oddes; or inequality that is between them, no more then *Dauid* did againſt *Golias*, or *Alexander* againſt *Porus*, who was two cubites higher then hee: and yet the leſſer ouercame the greater, when it was an hundred to one againſt him in ordinary reaſon. *Dauids* victory indeede, is attributed to Gods reuealed aſſiſtance, which gaue him boldneſſe in his buſineſſe. But *Alexanders* onely to his fortune, as I ſhall ſhew you anon. They care not (I ſay) for oddes in their perſon, oddes in ſkill, oddes of experience. His enemy haply hath beene in many frayes; or may be as ſtrong as *Pompeys* man was, who mette with his challenger in the field without weapon, and brought him away into the campe with a finger: yet all is one to him. What argues this, but, (I will not ſay) a miracle, yet an admirable conqueſt? They preſume of ſetting fortune heere againſt nature, chance againſt reaſon. I aſke whether this bee not true? It may bee, ſome are more wary or fearefull. But moſt commonly it is true. I aſke them ſecondly what makes them ſo preſume? They cannot ſay their ſkill, if the other haue more, not their ſtrength if the other be ſtronger, not their courage when the other may haue as much. They cannot ſay their right, for that is the queſtion; neither can they ſay their fence for their body, for they goe not out like men, many of them; but more like ſauages without defence. Their onely fight at this day is with ſingle ſhort ſword. The knowledge whereof if it bee right, hath advantage of any other. For hee hath a whole body to hurt, and but halfe a body to defend. But beeing ſo, that few haue true ſkill of it, it is both dangerous and ſpeeding, and hardly tolerable in a kingdome. I feare mee, they will come

S

ſhortly



shortly to the case of bodkins, or the Dutchmans stabbe or cut, with either of them a whitle, all vnbraced, and vntruff, as if they went to a backside rather, then to a tryall of life, and death. How farre is this from the ancient doctrine of manners, or manhood, now corrupted wholly, by the vpstart humours of a number of desperates ; who if it were a fashion to ride out in the raine, and leaue their cloakes behinde them, no doubt they would follow it.

Yee thought much euen now, that I called it dishonourable to challenge, or answer. But as they vse it now ; I may sweare it is dishonourable. For it is desperate, therefore dishonourable. What more desperate then to bee carelesse of ones life, when it is sought ; or to hazzard it for want of defence. They cast vs their gauntlet when they challenge, and leaue it behinde them when they come to fight. Yee may learne of *Thucydides* (who was himselfe a souldier also) that the right side of a man is to vse his weapon with, the left to defend with. Ours goe to it like halfe men. The great Monarch of the *Assyrians*, hauing taken distast against many of his *Princes* and *Potentates*, sent them a challenge thus : *That hee would defend himselfe against them all* ; shewing by this, that the chiefe part of a souldier is defence. Ours challenge also, but he that brings his mothers spindle with him, brings as much defence as they. Ye haue beene in fencing schooles, And the first thing yee learne is your wards and locks. Ours bring nothing to ward withall. If yee haue beene schollers, what learne yee there, but to defend, more then oppose ? Hee is the best scholler, that defends his conclusions best against all that come.

Take away defence therefore, and take away manhood. A man may refuse you with honour, if yee barre defence. For the fight is not like a man, but like a beast without defence. And yet verily it is a wonder, to heare our *Duellists* talke among themselues. By God hee killed him brauely say they ; I say ruffinly, without defence. Hee killed him manfully, I say casually without defence. Hee killed him valiantly, I say fearefully without defence. All night-fears would haunt my soule, if I should kill a man so. For though

I had.

Lib. 5.

Judith. 1.



I had my selfe no more defence then hee ; yet my sin would bee the greater, the more way I gaue chance, to tyrannize without defence. Duell is sinfull euery way, but without defence, it is a sinne against nature. So farre is it from honour, one naked man to conquer another, without defence.

*Archidamus* the Lacedemonian Duke gaue his men this Thucid. rule ; that when they went to fight, they should prepare lib. 2. themselves as if they feared, and fight as men that dared, and how is this preparing, but by defence ? *Homer* com- Iliad. 13. mends a sword-man, by his defence, not by his offence, *Bene loricati Achivi*, his bright armour, brigantine, or coate of plate. Hee commends a fighting man thus, *Galea galea, clipeus clipeo*, Helmet to helmet, or buckler to buckler, not poynard to poynard, or waistcoate to waistcoate, as our carpet knights doe. The old Greekes gaue them punishment that went into the field, not without sword or launce, but without buckler or shield. The *Romanes* likewise appointed eu- Dionis. ry one after their quality, what to haue for their defence, Hali. lib. 4. howsoeuer their weapons were. The best and ablest had their siluer buckler, and head-peece of Steele, their curat also, and Steele bootes. The second had the same, all sa- uing the curat ; and instead of a buckler, they had a shield. The third had like the second, but no bootes. The fourth or meanest that bare armes had their target, and might not goe out without it. They made reckoning of a mans life, and that a man was but a man ; his skin is not of a Lyon, or of dagger prooffe. And so should euery man thinke of him- selfe. And if hee bee a gentleman, his scutchion of armes that makes shew of a shield, doth put him in minde how to goe into the field ; or at leastwise not like flingers, and car- ters, that come behinde the campe, and can reach to no higher fence, then their fortunes. If our losse bee no more then of a dogge out of the way, wee may fight like dogges. But men, I would haue to fight like men, and they are bound by nature to it, as sure as they can for the part defen- siue, howsoeuer they bee for the offensiue, as it is in the warres ; and why not ? Now what is it then, that makes them so bolde, and yet so naked ? Surely it must needes be



this, that they presume to haue God on their side, if it be any thing ; and so (to my former saying) they tempt God. Or if it bee as they say, their fortune they stand vpon, they tempt their Lady fortune, which is very deceitful. And they doe not as we do in the warres. We will not hazzard our selues vpon a notable disaduantage ; and it is no dishonour to refuse battell in that case, vnlesse wee cannot mend our selues, and bee driuen to it perforce.

Now lastly ; supposing equality, and that there is no oddes betweene them ; but that the one is as strong, valiant and able as the other ; although the iniustice of the tryall seeme better cloaked, yet it is tempting of God notwithstanding. For they cannot deny the sword to be one of the three trials extraordinary. They may not vse triall by fire, nor by water, therefore not by sword without tempting of God. For though a man expect not a wonder in conquering his enemy, as by fire, and water hee doth ; yet tempteth hee God in one of these two waies. One is in presuming of Gods fauour in a wrong if he haue wronged his enemy. The other is in seeking Gods fauour inordinately, though hee haue right on his side. Hee will challenge God forsooth to right him with an extraordinary tryall, which I prooued the sword to bee, and spoiles his cause by it. For so it may bee said of him.

*Victrix causa deo placuit, sed victa Catoni.*

Victory due to the cause, no victory, as it is handled.

As if a man should giue me a Iuell, and I go picke his locke, or his pocket for it. Would this bee well taken ? Haue I not lost a friend by it ? This kind of presumption is towards God as vngodly, as the other to man most vnmanly. And I shall with you to take heed, and enquire of it further ; for it will stand yee much vpon.

And yet to giue you this also, and to free you from an audacious presumption ; which I can by no meanes doe : yet I may not allowe this tryall to be a tryall indifferent, and reasonable,



reaſonable, but falſe, vncertaine, and deceivable, as I prooue to ye thus. There is no man can make a tryall certen, whoſe iſſue is chance. But the iſſue of combate is chance, therefore the tryall vnreaſonable. That the iſſue is chance, it appears by the many casualties that combate is ſubieſt vnto, if his foote ſlippe, or ſword breake, the ſunne, wind, or duſt, in his eies, or if his breath faile him, hee is gone. Neither is a man alwaies in beſt praſtiſe for his defence. *King Porus* looked aſide a little, hearing his men in tumult behinde him, and *Alexander* tooke aduantage of it, and ouerthrew him. And to goe no further then my former examples; *Valerius* tooke like aduantage of a Rauen that flittered in the french mans face, and ouerthrewe him by it. *Liuius i. b. 7.* And yet theſe vncertaineties our Duellours make no reckoning of, weighing their honour in their humour, at no more in a manner then a throweat croſſe and pile, or a caſte at mum-chance.

The inſufficiency of this tryall is alſo ſeen, by the little eſteeme is made of it by the whole body of iuſtice. King, Councell, Iudges, Magiſtrates, and all the graue heads that are in the world. All that ye haue yee holde by their wiſedomes, and iudgements, the cloake on your backe, and your ſword in your hand. Yet they holde ſuch conqueſts of yours as nothing. They will not condemne the conquered for the worſer man, or commend the conquerour for the better man, or that he who hath the day, hath alwayes right on his ſide, as commonly he hath in iuſt warres, and ſo is noted by *Pomponius Letus*. But in ſingle fight it is often contrary. As we may ſee in *Corbis*, and *Oswaes* caſe, two principall men of Spaine while *Scipio* lay there; who would haue *vmpered* the matter betweene them for the principality of Ibeſ. But they were both reſolued; no tryall but combate, either take all, or looſe all. The apparant right was in *Oswa* who ſtood vpon his ſpirit, and flouriſhing youth. The other was both older, and ſtronger, and ſtood vpon his ſkill. Much preparation was on both ſides, and great concuiſe of people, and friendes. But the ſtronger obtained the victory, and the younger paide deere for his leuity. Like caſe

In com-  
pendio. lib.  
28.  
*Liui. 7.*



wee finde in king *Henry* the sixts time of England, how *William Cartur* was trayterously appeached for a traytour by his own seruant, and in combate was slaine by him in Smith-fielde, the seruant carrying away the victory, and the Master the honesty, as it was deemed and pittied by all that knew him. And it was not long, that the seruant could escape the iudgement of God for it, being hanged soone after for another fault.

Neither will such conquests be so much as an euidence in any court of audience. As for example, one cals me theefe, or baseborne. I challenge him the felde, and am ouercome, and he goes away with my sword. After this, I bring my action of flaunder. Hee pleades conquest by battell, and shewes my sword for a testimony, with other witnesse besides. Yet all is nothing. I shall haue dammages against him notwithstanding. But I leaue these matters vnto yee, to bee better considered of; as also the humours of men, from whence this vnciuill businesse proceedes. Greene heads commonly without ripenesse, courage without knowledge, good mettall ill applyed, good signes ill impolyed; and to put all in a word, the greatest aduenture that is, for so small a prize; as appeares by the frutes of it, which are two.

First a cruell repentance, if euer wee come to repent vs, but especially if death followed. Wee must remember one day, or at sometime or other, when wee set alone, and thinke of things past, that hee was our brother, whom we maliced, or supplanted so. Hee was partaker of one Christendome with vs; Like flesh, one countrey, the same language with vs. Perhappes hee was our friend and loue in his heart, howsoeuer he might be ledde by humane error, and peraduenture our kinsman, or allie for any thing we know, or care for in our passion. If euer we come to remeber our selues, we shall rue it most pittifully, and with the bowels of extreamest compassion. Alasse for pittie, that we cannot take warning one by another; yea that euer we should weare a sword, and vse it no better. How many bee there that perish thus of cold iron in this iron age? how wanton  
bee



be they with their weapons, after they get a little fence, and are not at quiet, till they haue sheathed it in their brothers bosome, or lye breathlesse, and speechlesse vnder the surgeons hands? They passe a tryall indeede; but whereof? Truely, in my opinion of the greatest misery, and most comfortlesse desolation that may bee: *Victus perijt, luget victor*, As the olde Oracle went, neither of them honourable by it, both of them miserable, and who can tell which more? Whether he that is by this time God knowes where, or he that suruiues; and though he bee in his right minde, yet cannot make amends, or bemoane it sufficiently.

The second fruite if we may call it so, is an abominable blindnesse of heart, which they bee growne vnto. Let vs speake but of one or two of their lawes, that they liue by, and dye by. Our young *Solons*, and *Lycurgusses*, what bring they? Or from whence? Not from the Athenians, or Egyptians; not from the *Romanes*, or *Lacedemonians*; and much lesse from good Christians. Their first law is good, and is but for a shewe; to colour the rest. And that is this, ye must doe wrong to no creature liuing. But they keepe it ill. For if they carry a spleene against one; they will giue him a iustle, or a scorne, or somewhat else that the other will not take, and raise a brawle presently. The second is if yee happen to wrong one, or that the other take it for a wrong, it is base to cry him mercy for it, or yee must doe it coldely, or rather stand to it, and iustifie it, and adde wrong to wrong, and word vpon word to the defiance. No place left for curtesie, but a curteous scoffe. A third is, if one throwe duste or salt in your face, or disgrace you in any sort: if yee be not a cowe, ye are bound to challenge him.

A fourth is, that if a man doe not answere his challenge, the other may stabbe him, or pistoll him for it, wheresoeuer he meetes him. Lesse then his life cannot satisfie the disgrace. What a horrible law is this? How inhumane? And yet there bee other as ill as these; but they agree not all in a tale. I omitte to speake of their satisfactions; as what is due for the lie giuen; what for a blow



with a fist, what with a cudgell? The satisfaction must be greater then the wrong alwaies, else no satisfaction, or rather no satisfaction will serue, vnlesse the party thinke it so. And it comes to this in the end; that he must be his owne iudge. For if he thinke it not satisfaction enough, all his friends must not quiet him. These matters I shall desire you to examine with the lawe of God, and with the professors of the same. And let no man make a puffe at it, if hee bee a man indeede, and not a very Canniball.

There is an eternall lawe, which to aime at, is all our duties, and to swerue from is frailty; but to make lawes against it is plaine Apostacie, or as I saide before, meere blindnesse of heart. For what should I call it else, when they forget God so much, forget nature, forget all ciuility and humanity? A gentleman is so called of gentlenes, and sweetness to all. The opposite of rudenes, furlines morositie, and hard to please. And as they be towards man, so are they to God-ward; that is to say contemptuous and base. If the king commaund a man that hee fight not, or if a man bee bound with his friend to the good behauour, and be challenged; he will refuse for feare of forfeiture, or offending man, and they hold it no cowardice. But when the king of kings forbiddeth, and his angels are our sureties, as it is

Heb. 1.

Psal. 90. 11.

written, God hath giuen them charge of vs; wee neither listen to God, nor Angell, but turne our backs to them most rudely, and therefore they turne their backs to vs, and we speed ill fauouredly with it in the end.

Neither doth it helpe the iustice of our cause, to fly our countrey for tryall, as many doe.

*Cælum, non mores mutat qui trans mare currit.*

It saues them a penaltie, but helpes no fault, beeing both of one allegiance, which if it were seuerall, the sinne were only to God. As it hapned in the time of King *Edward* the third, betwene a gentleman of *Cyprus*, and the bastard of France,



France, both hired souldiers to the king of Armenia. One of these had charged the other for taking money of the turkish enemy. And beeing to try it by combate before some competent Iudge, that were indifferent to them both: They both agreed to goe ouer into England, and to bee iudged by Edward 3. the king there. They would not bee their owne iudges as our Duellors are; nor steale reuenge as we doe; nor wrong their Soueraignes, as they had done, if they had beene of one allegiance. But the matter being great betweene them, they prepared themselves for all tryals of chiuallry, on horsebacke, and on foote, and submitted themselves to the honourable censure of the worthiest Prince in those dayes, who iudged it for the Frenchman, after a long combate.

Yee talke of daring, and what a trouble it is to a man of spirit, to be dared to his face in any thing. And why should it trouble you, so hee cannot out dare you in true honour. Neither is hee the best man that dareth most; *Fortis non est qui nihil timet.* (saith *Aristotle*) Most valour goes not by least fearing. Yea a man must feare as well as dare, if he be a true souldier or professour of armes. *Vulneribus didicit miles habere metum.* And yet is not this to bee rightly called feare in him, but a necessary care of himselfe, as farre as may stand with honour. The truth is, hee is most valiant, that can, and will, and will what ere hee can, due circumstances considered. If your enemy will dare you to the diuell, must yee dare to goe with him? And I haue prooued it to bee little better. If your enemy can clime a tree like a squirrell, or swimme like a dogge, or haue other actiuities, that you haue not; as to ride a wilde bull, or cloze with a Beare, or bee so desperate as to runne vpon his swords point, or leape into a well; will yee answer his challenge in any of these for your life, though hee dare you, and dare you againe? And yet I cannot deny it to bee a great deale of courage (if a man were not drunke) to dare so.

I knew two gentlemen fell out on an euening, and they must try it presently by starre-light, with either of them a knife in their hand, and had almost killed one another if they had not beene found in the fact, and parted. Did any



man commend them for it, or not rather laugh at them? I heard of Sir *John Wallop* an hardy knight of England, who when hee was olde, was challenged into the field by his enemy. And it was no dishonour to refuse it, and our Duellors will not deny it, but will blame the challenger rather. But the olde knight did challenge him againe to bee bound in a chaire against him; as hee should bee also, with a case of Pistols in their hands, and so to try it. But the other refused (our Duellors will say) with honour enough. For, may not, and can not, are both in a ranke of things that are not to bee done. Why should a man dare then to doe that he may not without defence, more then that hee cannot without knowledge, or ablenesse to performe.

It is pittifull, that men dare so, and haue God against them. I know well, wee dare euery day against God, when soeuer wee sinne wilfully. Wee presume vpon long life, and therefore wee dare. But to dare him so neere death, and in an act, that tendes to death, I holde it most desperate, or like vnto one, that pickt a pocket as hee was going to the gallows. But whether goes hee? hee goes where he may dye, though man good enough; and his other sinnes may deserue it, though this were none. What more? He goes where none that feares God will goe with him to giue him countenance. No spirituall man will associate him, to giue comfort at his death, or dare bidde him God speede in so speedy a way to hell. Hee shall haue many no doubt of his owne spirit, that will accompany him, and animate him in naughtinesse; but no man of God to pray for him, or God to take his prayer. Let his cause bee what it will bee, right, or wrong. If it bee right, hee spoyles it with ill handling; if it bee wrong hee sinneth doubly. It is base to wrong any, but more base to stand in it.

Yee aske mee then, what remedy for gentlemen to right themselues, if they bee wronged, or dishonoured. I answer, my purpose is not to giue remedy to remediless humors, but to shewe vnto yee, that what yee thinke is remedy, is no remedy, and what yee thinke is honour, is no more but courage. For, yee must distinguish of it thus. There is honour without



without courage, and that is harmelesse ; there is courage without iustice, and that is honourlesse, or honours ape; and there is honour and courage together ; and that is true valiantnesse, as I haue said sufficiently before, and well becomes an honourable person. They that haue breeding, will choose the best of these I doubt not. And as for righting ; verily in the law of armes, and chiuallry, wee acknowledge no such lawes as your Duellors talke of, but onely one, which is to doe no creature wrong. An other law we haue like to this, neuer to be our owne Iudge. For this we hold to bee childish and base. Neither is it for a mans honour, to bee so ill neighboured, or ill friended, that hee will not bee iudged by any, but by himselfe. Let these two lawes be well obserued, and men will quickly doe right, or be righted. For it is not vnmanly for a man to aske pardon, where hee hath wronged, so it bee not for feare ; neither is it honourable for a man on the other side, to aske vnreasonable satisfaction, or to aske satisfaction where there needes none ; as if a blowe were but proffered onely, and not giuen, as *Astyochnus* did by *Hermocrates*.

What is fit satisfaction for the lye giuen, or what for other disgraces ; what is a iust repulse of a wrong, and when the burthen of honour is truely cast vpon the iniurer, your Marshals can tell best, who are best acquainted with this new disease. New maladies haue new medicines. If a man haue the lye put vpon him, and he strike him for it, I thinke hee should bee satisfied. If he take a blow, and giue another, what would hee haue more ? for this was *Moses* law, *Oculus pro oculo, dens pro dente*, An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. And must wee haue two for one ? No wee may not, for what sayes the law more ? *Qualem inflixerit maculam, talem sustinere cogetur*, *Leuit. 24. Vers. 20.* What contumely hee hath giuen, the like hee shall bee made to vndergoe. A disgrace for a disgrace, a blowe for a blowe, or an humble submission for an vnworthy aspersiō. And yet with vs, these be no satisfactions. We will haue more then the law, we will haue his blood rather. And where the law saies *cogetur* ; whereby the magistrate is appointed to right vs ; wee say no, wee will right



our selues. What a presumption is this, to teach God almighty what is iust? Againe, there is much quarrelling about women. If two fall out about a corruptible mistresse, they must goe fight for her loue, and know not why. Were it not much more honour, to doe as *Lester* and *Liques* did of late? The more they loued the selfe same mistresse, the more they loued one an other. Yea when *Liques* had obtained her, and married her one morning, and was taken by *Lester* the same day in a skirmish neere *Saint Omers*; and shee sent vnto him to send him to her againe out of hand; hee obeyed her voice, as the voice of his generall, and sent him away the same night with honour. And why should not all men doe the like? but snarle at one another, like a couple of mungrels, more for lust, then for loue. In a word.

If yee will haue of me any remedy, I must speake out of Gods law, or no law. And then I say if one haue done me a despite, that the law will not remedy; yet by Gods law, I may not bee his executioner. Neither neede I salute him, or speake to him, or mooue cap to him, vntill hee haue satisfied mee. I may deny him all points of friendship, though no point of charity. Hee hath lost my good opinion of him, which otherwise I owed him. He hath lost my loue, and good will, and the loue of all that loue me. Is not this reuenge enough thinke yee? but yee will laugh at mee now, all you that know not the worth of loue, and good will. I protest vnto you, if I had wronged one in word or deede, it would be to me the greatest paine that could be. For both must I make him amends, and also I am bound to seeke him, if I haue any Christian blood in mee. If thy *Brother* haue ought against thee, that is to say, be wronged or thinke him wronged by thee; *goe thou and be reconciled to him.* Loe heere. I must goe seeke him where hee is. But I leaue this to preachers, who tell vs, and agree in this; that the wrong doer is bound to seeke the wronged for his loue, and that with all the good tearmes hee possibly can. And wee haue many examples of Princes that haue done the like.

Mat. 5.

A prince



A Prince will not wilfully loose a subiects good will for a peece of his kingdome. As we reade of *Alcibiades* the Athenian Duke, who gaue to *Hypponicus* a *Senatour* a blowe on the eare, in publique place. But being come to himselfe, he griued at it much, and went to seeke him next day at his house, offered himselfe to be whipt, beginning to strip; and so insinuated into his fauour againe, with due satisfaction, that *Hypponicus* soone after made him his sonne in law. King *Agrippa* likewise hearing of one that thought ill of him for somewhat, was not quiet in minde, vntill he had spoken with him, and wonne him, made him sit downe by him, argued sweetely with him, reconciled himselfe to him, and so sent him away. Who will holde these men for base, or not truly honourable, and not true esteemers of loue or good will? Onely thus much I will adde. Hee that is so rude or vnsociable, as to wrong one, and neither seekes reconciliation, nor cares what any man thinkes of him, like *Monsieur Orguiles*, whom we heard maintaine, that hee had rather haue his neighbour to be his enemy, then his friend; such as these (saith *Morus*) haue more neede of pittie then reuenge, they are halfe way poore soules in hell already.

Neither doe I weigh the common obiection, that our enemy will set light by vs, and double vpon vs iniuries in these maleuolus times, if he feare no more but losse of our loue. Whereunto I answer, I will prouide my selfe against wrong as well as I can. And yet if he feares me not, it shall be to me no dishonour, or harme; no more then if a Beare doe not feare mee, I will see to it, that he shall not bite me. But must I challenge or answere the felde to euery one, that baites mee, or scornes mee? So I might set vp a bul-ring, and play the Bull my selfe, when I haue done. In a word, I dare approoue no sauing of honour by fighting, nor any remedy that way. And as touching challenge, I can allowe of none at all; but to summon him to the court of honour (if they be gentlemen, and beare armes) to answer it at their perill. And the sentence there may be as great satisfaction to the wronged, and disgrace to the iniurer, as



that of the Censour of *Rome* was. Which *Romane* gentlemen stood in more awe of, then of fire or sword. And this is all I can allowe you, and no more. My reason is this For eyther the wrong is prooued, or not. If prooued, then no combate, as all agree, because there is meanes for ciuill satisfaction. If not prooued, as to say the lye was giuen you, but you cannot prooue it, conquest cannot prooue it, except it speake true alwayes, which no man will say.

Howbeit for a perfect remedy, or preuenting rather of the cause, I would wish that we were so wise as to withstand beginnings, and to temper our heate, that there might bee no brawles at all. For it is a rule in armes, that he who forbears ill words, can neuer haue the lye giuen him iustly, nor the burthen put vpon him to challenge. Detraction behinde ones backe, and contumely to ones face, are principal bellows to these combustions. Or to speake more inwardly to the busines, I find most commonly mens thoughts in *Duell* before their bodies are. Enuy and pride in them fill their heads with comparisions. I as good as he, I more wise or worthy, I more valiant or hardy, or of better descent then hee. And this is mentall *Duell* which breakes out into act vpon small occasion.

They say comparisions are odious, and yet they vse them as though they were gracious, and that is childish. For it beganne with childe-hood, and shonld ende at manhood.

*Quanto maior es, tanto te geras submissius*, the greater we be, the more kinde, and humble we ought to bee. And we that bee Christians haue great helpes for it, ouer that heathens haue. And yet haue heathens also giuen vs excellent examples heerein; and it is good for vs to learne of them, if wee will not learne of *Christ*. Wee may learne of *Fabius Maximus*, as I said before, not to regard what men say of vs, so we deserue it not. Wee may learne of noble *Antigonus*, who ouerhearing some of his followers, talking their pleasure of him in the next roome, came out suddainely vpon them with a staffe in his hand, and badde them get them further out of his hearing, and then talke what they list. Why tooke he not reuenge? Wee may learne of *Philip of Macedon*,



*Macedon*, who contrariwise, would not part with *Nicanor*, although he were tolde that hee was ill tongued, and spake not well of him. I must looke to my selfe (saide he) that I haue no fault, and he will haue little to talke of. So saide *Tiberius* before hee fell to tyranny. When complaint was made of certaine libels cast out against him; Wee must haue patience (saide hee) tongues and thoughts are free; I will doe nothing heereafter, but what I can account for; and if they shall hate me notwithstanding, I can but hate them againe. And like to these was our *Lewis* the twelfth, who was so quallified in this kinde; that he renued the old custome in plaies, and enterludes, to point at mens faults. with quippes, and ieastes before their faces (which is death in *Venice*) and would not himselfe be spared, no more then others.

And to this effect saide *Phocion* that noble Duke of Athens that he had no enemy; nor could hate any man. For if a man should wrong him vnderferuedly, he was his owne enemy, and not his: and if deseruedly, it was a warning to him to amend. I would to God wee had the minde to learne of him; for he was full of wisedome, and manly fortitude. He helde it base to keepe reuenge in his breast to any priuate person. In so much as going to dye, one asking him what he would haue to his sonne; nothing (saide hee) but that hee reuenge not my death. And of the same minde was *Vespasian* the Emperour, as great a souldier as hee was, hee would take no reuenge of priuate enmity. For beeing thrust out rudely (before he was Emperour) out of *Neroes* presence by an vsher of the chamber, with these words; get you out, get you out with a vengeance, what doe you heere: This vsher comming afterward to him when hee was Emperour, to craue pardon of him to late; hee gaue him no more but his owne words againe, saying: get you out with a vengeance, what doe you heere. This is base to our young masters now a daies, that must beare no coales in no fort.

And what doe we reade of *Lycurgus* long before these? when *Alcandar* had maliciously put out his eye with a cudgell; did hee thinke of reuenge? no contrary; he tooke



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him into his seruice, and hee became his louingest seruant that euer he had. A strange thing, that heathens should practise the Gospell before they heard of the Gospell. Yea more strange, that God requires no more of vs, but what our light of nature shewes vs the way to. And most strange of all, that we who know the Gospell, set so light by it, will not heare of turning to'ther cheeke, or of rendring good for euill; neither doe Ivrge them to it now; and yet these *Pagans* ledde them to it, by their owne practise, and example.

Was it want of courage thinke yee, that *Cesar* would put vp a wrong in an instant? As when he gaue his voice for *Memmius* to be *Consull*, that called him all to naught but a little before, was pleased with *Catullus* in an instant; and badde him to supper, who had defamed him with libels? and who could take more temperately those biting speeches of *Cecinna* then he? Where was courage? where was reuenge? Where letters of defiance? What reuenge tooke our *Constantine*, when one was brought before him, that had stabbed his picture on the face? This was all he did. He called for a looking-glasse, and finding there that his face was neuer the worse for it, hee let him goe without punishment.

These vertues in those great *Princes* were admirable. And although I doe not commend them in all these things, in regard they were publique persons, and might lye open to contempt by it, if they should vse it: yet are they of great example to priuate persons, not to thinke so loftily of themselves as they doe, when such as these, and so farre aboue them in honour and worth, could forget their greatness, and policie, for loue of these vertues; and in hatred of reuenge. It is commended in *Cotys* king of *Thracia*, that finding himselfe so weake as he was in resisting anger, hee shunned occasions of it, though it were but to a seruant. For which cause hee brake once a number of costly drinking-glasses, that were giuen him for a present, saying: hee had rather be without them all, then be angry with his man for breaking but of one. Yet much more commendable it had beene



beene, if hee had spared the glasse, and watched his anger better : which wee that be Christians may more easily doe then he, by helpe of grace, which he had not.

Gentlemen should bestow some time, their idle time I meane, vpon morality and laudable histories, that they may see and make choise of the worthiest actions, and imitate *Princes* if they will. *Princes* I say, that were not greater (some of them) in their outward conquest ouer others, then in their inward ouer themselves. How much better should they imploy there time thus, then vpon loue bookes, and poems of idle subiect, which haue multiplied, and swarmed of late towards the end of the world, to light a candle before the diuell, and to intoxicate mens heads with matter of impertinent fiction, and such as Duellors are most beholding vnto.

For to speake a word or two of the originall of this vice before I leaue it ; how it sprung, and grew to this greatnesse : I take it, it comes two manner of waies. One, by some likenesse it hath to vertue ; And *Similitudo mater erroris* saith *Galen*, All the world is deceiued with *Similies*. Pride is like magnanimity, and therefore men bee proud ; enuy like iustice, and therefore men be spitefull ; gluttony like naturall appetite, and therefore men bee rauinous ; letting of money like land letting, and therefore men bee Vsurers. So Duell vpon priuate quarrell, like combate vpon our countries command, and therefore they will fight, when their humours command. The other is a multitude of idle bookes and ingenious deuises as I said, but much naughtinesse in them, to inuegle the minde of man, and wrie our vnderstanding quite on t'oue side. Such as *Amades*, and *Ariosto*, *Valentine* and *Orson*, and the knight of the Sunne ; that are full of these challenges, and brauadoes, and such like vchristian stufte, which some of the Authors haue repented them of since, and so haue professed at their dying day. These and such like, men teare, and weare with continuall reading. Euery one will haue one of these, or a play booke in his hand ; and what men delight in, they are made like vnto.



An other way how Duell comes in, may be our badde inclinations alwaies to make good ill, and to corrupt any thing that is good. Religion slides easily into superstition, deuotion to scrupulosity, honor to insolency, ciuill manhood into ranke, and wilde manhood; as hearbes, apples, and flowers doe, which for want of culture, and kindly mould, degenerate in time to weedes, and wildings. The true soyle where manhood growes, is lawfull hostility, or iust defence; for want of which, and through idlenesse together in peaceable countries, it growes ranke, and rammish, and workes vpon it selfe for lacke of the true subiect. Like fire, that cares not what it burne so it burne somewhat; or like a ston'd-horse, that for want of a Marrow falles a kicking, and leaping his fellowes, to vent his courage.

In Meth.

But to speake more historically; the very beginning of Duellum, and the lawes thereof came first out of the North if wee beleue *Bodinus*. The *Scythians* first, a strange people, and of large dominions, who liued all vpon sword, as olde histories make mention, and doe yet at this day. *Iniurias illatas raro iure, sed ferro vindicant*, saith *Munster*, They sel-dome right themselues but by sword. And this was so agreeable with their horride nature; that *Anacharsis*, their owne countrey *Philosopher*, was killed by them for attempting to alter it. After these, the olde Germans, as *Tacitus* reporteth, The magistrate (saith hee) determines nothing either in publike, or priuate, but by sword. And as this people not knowing God, or his lawes, ouerranpe the South with many notable incursions; and hath left a print of it yet in old Imperiall lawes: so carried they their fashions with them, and infected all countries with their inciuilties, which would neuer bee quite abolished to this very day. And this is such an iniustice (saith my author) as I know not a greater; that a weake body cannot bee righted of any wrong, but hee must fight for it, though it be with his farre ouer match.

*Italians* and *Spaniards*, the one diuided into *Guelphes* and *Gibelines*, the other in *Moores* and *Natifes*, were also much to blame in this businesse. And from them it came ouer the mountaines to vs, and wee as forward therein as our masters.



sters. All bordering countries likewise, that liued most vpon sword, rapine, and spoyle, as professed outlawes, infected the inlandes in time with their disorders, and outlawe so- ueraignty, as the nature of man is, prone to learne that which is euill. But what is the ende of it ? See whether it were of God or no. Those nations haue almost left it now, and are fallen to worse, to priuy murthers with long needels, and poysoning, where they beare grudge ; and so shall wee also if wee bee let alone, and a man shall not know who hurt him. All artes and sciences are come at this day to the toppe. Nothing almost can bee added. Euen so it is with the malice of man, as by this very sinne is easily seene. One thing it is to sinne of frailty as I said, or vpon suddaine occasions, where mans reason hath no time to discourse: but to say wee doe well, and are bound to doe it, where we doe ill and will doe it againe, is to forget God quite, and to resigne our interest wee haue in our Christendome, or shall haue in his kingdome.

There belawes against this vice in some places. But what should there neede lawes to men of honour and armes, who ought to bee their owne lawes, and other mens. Lawes be needfull to those of ruder fashion. But bee not you like those feeble women the *Miletian virgins*, who neuer left killing their owne selues, vntill an act past against them to bee carried out naked when they were dead, for euery man to looke on. Yee haue but one life, and yee haue it not for your selues alone, but for many: your friends, and kinsfolke, and countrey haue part in yee, saith *Cicero*. Nay, what saith Saint Augustine ? *Quid tam non tuum, quam tu ?* What so little thy selfe as thy selfe ? As who should say, others haue more in thee then thy selfe. How vnworthy is it then to aduenture thy selfe so vngloriously ? Your neighbours, and countrey-men haue part in yee, why should yee robbe them of yee ? Your kindred haue interest in yee, why doe yee depriue them ? Your Soueraigne may neede you, why deny you him his due, and hazzard the best blood yee haue in obscurity ? Will other men rise of your blood thinke ye, when yee are gone ? how basely doe yee thinke of your selues



selues in your highest conceits.

A man is borne for many, yet wee will ieopard our selues to doe good to no body. One man may kill many in his countries defence ; yet wee will bee lauish of our life in hope to kill but one , and him as good a member (it may bee) as our selfe. And what doe wee in this, but worke against our selues ? If a man possesse any thing, there is none but will haue as much as hee can for it before hee depart with it. Onely our life shall wee set so little by, as to aduenture for little, or nothing ? Doe we not know the worth of our life, and what a iewell it is ? how neuer to be had againe, when once gone ? how soone forgotten ? how little care of vs when we be dead, and put into a hole, to reuenge our quarrell ? euery one is not *Patroclus*, who had an *Achilles* to reuenge him. It hath beene comfort to many, that their death should cost many deaths. *Epaminondas* died ioyfully of his deadly wound, when hee heard that hee had wonne the field. Wee neither winne field, nor shield by it, but content our selues with a little fearefull honour, which is no honour. Wee little remember, that our life is all our stocke ; and what merchant will aduenture all at once, to make but owne of owne. If I kill, I kill but one, if I be killed also, I loose two. What is gotten by this ? if a man had many liues, hee might hardly spend one idly. Having but one life then, and to spend it so prodigally, I would thinke he had too much of one.

And I cannot but here (while I thinke of it) digresse a little from the matter, although not much. And great *Princes* I hope will not blame me, if I remēber them of an intolerable abuse of their *frascible* part, if they take not heede. And their fault therein is the greater, and commoner, the more absolute their authority is, where no man is to controle them in the power that is giuen them by Gods assignment. They are appointed by God, or rather put in trust to bee his *vindices ad iram*, Reuengers for God to execute his wrath vpon those that bee euill, and wrong doers, *is qui mali sunt*. I speake not of the power they haue ouer their subiects, which is meant directly in this place; but of that they haue ouer their equals in other countries, if they or theirs be wronged & may right themselves



themselues by the sword if cause require. It is seldome seene, that right is on both sides. And therefore how many battels we reade of, or heare of, so many wrōgs most cōmonly, yea so many massacres, or wilfull murthers on t'one side, which is horrible to thinke, that it should be amongst Christians.

Some goe to it with as slender pretences as may be. Some with iustice enough, but vniustly. Our *Charles* the eight will neuer be forgotten, who ranne through *Italy* like a fury for recouery of *Scicilie* and *Naples*; set townes and people on fire where he came; robbed Churches and profained them, rauished women, and cutte their throates when they had done. In a towne of *Tuscane* where they had nothing to do, but to passe it through; yet spared they not man, or woman, poore innocent people, till they had slaine seauen hundred of them. How farre was this from *Charles* the wise his grandfather, a most peaceable and powerful *Prince*. *Charles* of Burgundy likewise had the name of a worthy Prince; yet not to be excused for the malice he bare to them of *Leodes*, where he made his souldiers carry firebrands in t'one hand, and their swords in t'other throughout his army. He left not a stone of their walles one vpon an other, to wreake his will on them for a very small cause. And against the Switchers soone after, what outrage committed he, where he hung fise hundred captiues at once without all redemption, brake promise foulely with those of *Granson*, demanded of his subiects a sixt of their goods, but they would not yeelde him a penny, vnlesse he would come home, and leaue those idle, (they might haue said) pernicious warres. And to goe no further then our next neighbours, what a diuelish fight was that betweene the Switchers, and some of the *Cantons*, because they would not leaue their league with *Austria*? They grew to that rancour, and mortall feud, that when they had vanquished them in a sore battel, they were not thus content, but made stooles, and tables of their dead bodies to sit on, and feast vpon. And that which is more, they opened their breasts, and drunke their blood to one an other, and pulled out their hearts, to teare them with their teeth. Would ye thinke this were in Christendome? I giue but a few examples in stead of ma-



ny, and am ashamed to tell, what hath hapned neerer our time.

The like not read of scare in all the Bible, that faithfull were against faithfull. Yet with vs daily, Christians against Christians, and suffer their faith to sleepe the whilest. There want not prelates, and clergie-men, to forward Princes in such businesse, and to sowe pillowes to euery bedde. There want not histories great plenty to extoll their doings, and magnifie their names, for executing brauely vpon their owne tribe, and alliance without all respect of nature, and pittie. He that kils most is extolled most, saith one. A Christian is but a dogge to him, if he be angry. And if a Prince be of quiet disposition, and peaceable, and thinkes he hath enough of his owne to gouerne in peace, and feare of God, as *Numa* and *Salomon* did; they count them scarce worth writing of, because there be no battles nor conquests in his time. Where contrary, they should thinke him wise, for sparing, and not spending so much treasure, and blood vpon that which they cannot keepe no longer, then they be stronger, and haue no more title to most commonly, then is sealed with an edge on their next neighbours flesh. It is a wonder to see, what paines and eloquence our writers bestow in this kinde, to set forth the glory they thinke, but indeed the sinne and shame of their countries, if it were not apparantly iust, and honourable, which they tooke in hand.

We reade in the booke of *Iudges*, how ten tribes fought against one, which was *Beniamin*. The quarrell was iust, the reuenge approoued of God, for a horrible crime committed in *Beniamin*, and the whole tribe ouerthrowne by them, except a few. Yet when they had done their worst; *doluerunt*, they were pittifully griued at it, and *penitentiam egerunt*, their sorrow was expressed in deedes, and care to make them amends, as it their appeares. They vaunted not of their valour, nor made bragges of the blood they spilt, but lamented with teares, and with wringing of hands for that was past, and could not now be recalled. How many Princes haue wee knowne in Christendome, that haue shewne

Ezech. 19.

Pom. Lxx.

Iudg. 21.



shewne much sorrow for twenty or forty thousand slaine on a day of the same tribe themselves were of, and bought with the same blood? Yea, haue they not made triumphs and bonfires for it, when they came home, and *Te deum* sung in Churches for them, when they had more neede of a *miserere*?

There haue beene thrice five hundred yeares since the comming of Christ, and the fourth is begunne. In the first five hundreth began our greatest *Monarchies*. In the second they grew Christian, and were of great example. In the third they beganne to neglect religion, and to preferre their owne ends, pulling from each others greatnesse, and abiding no equals, which caused much warre. What will become of this fourth five hundreth, we know not yet. But if the rest holde out like the first of it now last past, we must looke for a generall reuolt from God and all goodnes, 2. Thes. 2. our sinnes deseruing it, and our contempt of his lawes. I pray God my feare prooue greater then the euent. I haue read an old prophecy, that *Europe* shall burne, and it hath prooued true in this last age. The rather through difference of opinions, and those both great, and many in matter of Religion. By reason whereof so many haue beene slaine in a few daies space, as would haue driuen the Turke out of *Hungary, Walachia, Transilvania*, and out of all *Germany* home to *Constantinople*; and in a few yeares so many of our Christian brethren haue beene slaine by our fire, and sword, as would haue wholly vncrowned him, and cast him out of all commerce with vs, beyond the *Caspian* sea, from whence he came.

If speake not of older times then this last hundreth, wherin it had beene better (if it were Gods will) that *Flanders* and *Netherland* had beene vnder water, *Milan* swallowed of the earth, *Naples* flat with the ground; then so many liues had beene lost about them, and so many soules either damned, or indangered by them: the turke looking on the while, and laughing at vs; giuing praise to his Mahomet, and crying, blessed be our confusion. The day is now come I thinke, which Christ foretold vs, that malice shall abound, and cha-



Mat. 24.

rity waxe cold. It could not else be, that wee should bee so ready to strike our brother or neighbour as we doe vpon so slight occasions most commonly, or not so great as *Beniamins* was, and dye vnrepentant for it. It is no new saying; but begotten of long obseruation in most cuntryes, and ages, especially, in former times, and for this onely sinne.

*Ad cereris generum sine cade, et sanguine pauci.  
Descendunt Reges, aut sicca morte tyranni.*

Few kings or tyrants dye faire death,  
But some misfortune stops their breath.

Psal. 67.

I list not illustrate it with examples, what vntimely deaths haue followed Princes for it. Or if not death, yet cruell rending of their kingdomes, or translating them out of their lyne to some worthier then themselues, and sometimes to their enemy. *Dissipa gentes quæ bella volunt* saith king *Dauid*, Let them be confounded that seeke warres. And the Emperour *Martianus* who had beene a warriour all his dayes; yet this was his saying: let no man haue warre, that  
„ may liue in peace. *Pax una triumphis innumeris potior*, saith  
„ an other.

lib. 1. c. 16.

And yet I would not haue them loose what they be truly Lords of, nor put vp inchoachments, and vnworthy disgraces, for which they may honourably right themselues, if some things concurre. For first the cause must be iust, and so resolved by reuerend men. Secondly (if long out of possession) that it cost not more then it is worth. And thirdly, how like they be to holde it, when they haue gotten what they would. Our *Phillip de Comines*, who was in the bo-  
„ somes of many great Princes addes this also; that where  
„ there are many Princes of equall degree, and cannot agree:  
„ if they will be sure to doe well, they must alwayes haue some  
„ superiour amongst them, to aduise them, and ouerrule  
„ them in matter of quarrell, and anger between them. What  
a thing is it, that two Princes both of them wise, should  
leade



leade their armies into the field, and inuade one another so boldely, and bloodily as they did, and knew no cause why, Lib. 3. cap. 3 but the cunning of contriuers, and make-bates, as the same author affirmeth of his owne knowledge. Who sheweth also what deceits they haue vsed, and striuen who should deceiue the other most in their accords, with more then *Punicke* fraudes, murthers, and paricides, when they gaue scope to their humours, and would be ruled by none? The danger whereof is so great to them, and to their posterity, that hee exhorts them in his fift booke more like a Di- cap. 28. nine, then a Statist; to thinke of hell often, and of the torments there. I say no more; but humbly wish them to reade it, out of the booke it selfe, and marke it well, as the Emperour *Charles* the fift I thinke did, for the booke was neuer out of his hands. And yet it is no more then *Ecclesiasticus* aduises them, *Memento nouissimorum, & desine* cap. 18. *inimicari*, Remember the last things, and thou wilt haue no minde to make warre.

Lastly, touching this point of warres, if wee beleeuue Diuines; a demand of recompence must precede for sauing of blood-shedde, before the enterprise be vndertaken. Against *Turkes* and heathens, wee neede not bee so scrupulous, so touch bee kept with them, and the law of armes. If a king goe personally against infidels, it is impious to trouble him at home, before he returne; though some haue practised it, and defeated good enterprises by it, to the sorrow of Christendome, and the enemies great aduantage. I cannot but wish, and pray, that God would touch the hearts of Princes with zeale of propagating the name of Christ; and if they loue wars, to shew their valerous minds where they may shew it, and not broyle in ciuill discord, and aduance broken titles, and vengeance at home, while the bounds of Christendome in *Europe* grow narrower, and narrower. But what hope of making Christians, if they haue no scruple of killing Christians? I will returne to my matter againe. As Princes haue care of many liues, that they be not lost, or cast away: so ought Subiects not to be prodigall (as I said) of their owne life, or their neighbours, though neuer so enemy to them.



Psal. 8.

God hath made vs little lesse then Angels, as wee reade in the psalme, and the world hath beene in trauell with vs, fīue or fixe thousand yeares, to bring vs forth for Gods seruice, and our countries. And what seruice haue I done, to kill or hurt my brother, or but to aduenture my selfe for a shadow? What honour gotten by mayming him, or drawing blood of him, which euery beast can doe better then I? Yea, what if he deserued ill of mee? What if he deserued death by wronging mee, and that hee fall into the hands of iustice for it? The sentence which graue Iudges pronounce not without heauinesse, shall I goe, and preuent with triumph? That which Gods people behold not without teares, shall I execute with vaunting? and therefore as my case is, the Psalme is changed in me; and I haue made my selfe so farre off from *Angelicall*, that I am little better then a diuell, if I dye in that estate. O how great wee be in our owne sights, and yet how pleased to aduenture our selues abiectly, and to deserue ignominiously in the last act we doe?

This one life which God bestowed on vs at length before the world were quite ended; is it not a dreadfull thing we should waste so idly, spend so carelesly, and end so desperately? That which our worthy friends had care to leaue vnspotted to vs, vntouched with infamy, vnstained with wrong doing, memorable some of them for their countries good, honourable for their deserts, and dying in Gods fauour; shall wee alone bee foolish, and vnworthy, and as we ledde our life vnprofitably, so shall wee leaue it I know not how? that which King, Councell, and communalities haue care of to preserue with peace, shall we frustrate with a giddy fancy, and finish with a fatall blow? That which God and nature haue conspired to produce with consent of stars, firmament, and all heauenly influences, shall we rashly bring to nothing with a bloody thrust? That which our noble ancestours haue holpen to bring to light for their honour, and to inrole in their descent, shall wee vnrole with some base attainer, or patch vp with a purchased pardon, which none will thinke honourable, but our selues?

What will the world, or they that know vs, say of vs?

Surely



Surely no better then thus ; we haue good riddance of him, or I would wee had ; hee was but a quarreller. What will Pagans say, if they can speake for laughing, to see vs quell one an other as wee doe ? What will our Soueraigne say ? Hee would neuer haue beene our friend, that was not his owne, farewell hee. What would his anceftours call him, if they knew him, but an abortiue, vnprofitable, one that came *Esay. 14. 19* for naught, and is gone for naught ? But aboue all wee should feare the iudgements of God, what hee will say of vs. Sorrow, and vnluckinesse goe with him, *because he would not know the way of peace.* Nay, what will himfelfe say if hee dye out of Gods peace ? Woe is mee, woe is mee, I fought honour, I finde horror. Tell mee now I beseech you, what worth is your enemy of ? how dangerous a person ? what monstrous Gorgon or infectious Dragon doe ye make him, that yee dare vndergoe all these censures for him, from God and his worthy creatures ; and hauing but one life, will boldly ieopard it in such a quarrell ? *Pfal. 13.*

## The Conclusion.

**B**Vt I will make an ende. I haue laide before yee after my fashion, what my selfe doe know to bee true, and many by corruption of times are ignorant of. I say little of the hurt our countrey hath by such enormities. The State will looke to that, and prouide lawes according. King *Arthur* forbad it his knights particularly ; and so did *Aifon-* *Bocas. lib. 8.* *sus* to his knights of the bande, that they might not hurt, or touch one another for any thing : which they would neuer haue forbidden, if it had beene honourable. Whatsoever Lawes bee, it is the mindes of men, that I would haue reformed in this matter of heate, that lawes may bee obeyed for conscience, not for feare. To which purpose I haue shewne yee, how comely and necessary it is for all sortes to carry passion euen. How pleasing to God, agreeable with nature, and gratefull to all that are well minded. As also I haue illustrated with examples of some great persons, that haue



beene bitten behinde their backs, or to their faces, and haue  
 not taken it for disgracious, as wee doe. And in this point  
 of hot blood, I haue insifted the more, because it is the  
 ground. And if this bee well tempered in the beginning,  
 much euill is knockt on the head by it, and wee shall neuer  
 goe so farre, as to bee our owne reuengers, or to erre vpon  
 colde blood, which yet was the principall subiect of my  
 this dayes charge. I haue tolde yee of the commonnesse of  
 the fault, and how sinfull, and not onely sinfull, but here-  
 ticall. Inquire of it. I haue prooued to ye how opposite it is  
 to the law of God, of nature, of nations, which *S. Paul* cal-  
**Rom. I. 32.** leth also the iustice, or law of God; and how neuer practised  
 by the worthies of the world, scarce read of in histories, not  
 acknowledged by ancient Poets, or commended any where  
 by morall men, yea accounted plaine cowardlines by *Fabius*  
*Maximus*, and much lesse to be entertained & vsed by Chri-  
 stians: whom I haue prooued to be little better then *felo de*  
*se*, if they dye in it, and are iustly forbidden all Christian bu-  
 riall; and the spectatours, and abettors, are subiect to cen-  
 sure for it. Inquire of these points further, if they be not so.  
 I haue told you my opinion likewise touching honour, and  
 praise of men, and wherein it consisteth truely, and how not  
 to be sought for out of the compasse of a mans owne profes-  
 sion. Euery man professeth not armes, & as little wit is in ac-  
 cepting, as manhood in tendring of such a challenge, vn-  
 lesse they be sword-men. Which if they be, yet to these al-  
 so I deny the liberty of single combate vpon priuate quar-  
 rell; beeing neither honourable, what God forbiddeth, nor  
 loyall to Prince or countrey, what mans law disauoweth,  
 nor the tryall indifferent, that stands vpon chance, with-  
 out necessitie force vs. Besides that, I prooued it to bee a  
 tempting of God directly, which how great a sinne it is, I  
 haue also said, and I hope ye will not forget. Although for  
 your better assurance, I would wish yee to take your bet-  
 ter information when ye may, of those that bee learned in  
 diuine lawes, and humane. Who I suppose will auouch as  
 much as I haue saide; and will further beare me witnesse,  
 that I tye not your honour to syllables, or your haughtie  
 spirits to words of art; but haue done what I can out of my



my loue, to free ye from *Sathans* tyranny in this kind; against whom and his workes, and all his powerfull deceites, I professe my selfe a perpetuall enemy. For I haue lastly told yee what blindnesse of heart this sinne hath brought vs vnto, and what badde lawes come of it, such as it is a shame should come from Christians. The originall of it also, and the strength it is growne vnto, hath beene opened vnto ye. And finally what a benefit it is of God, to giue vs a liues time in the world, and all the meanes to conserue it in health, peace, and good estate; and yet how vnthankfull we bee in departing with it, or but hazzarding it for a trifle. What God made not without great wisedome, and counsell, wee will vnmake for a toy or a caprich of our owne. We will goe steale a glory by our selues, and the first steppe we make, is into the bottomelesse pitte of hell. There is nothing remaining, but that ill custome preuaile not with you, which beares a mightie stroake in the actions of men. Ill custome I say, that goes handsomely deckt in flowers of honour, the more likely to deceiue; and maketh such impression in mens mindes, that it will not away with beating. Their arguments are, I will not, I cannot, I will be hanged first, the deuill take me first both body and soule. For if they speake soberly, they bring vs nothing at all, that is greatly worth answering. Some will vrge me with *Eleazar* 2. *Mach.* in the *Machabes*, who lost his life to auoide disgrace, or scandall to his name. I answer, it is one thing to suffer death by Martyrdome, an other thing to be an actour in it, by fighting, which may not be. For howsoeuer the disgrace be, it is either past, or to come. If past, it is reuenge to fight, and reuenge is absolutely vnlawfull in a subiect. If to come, we fight for nothing. For that which is to come is not yet; vnlesse it were vpon assault, as I said before. Secondly if they alleadge the booke of *Kings*, where *Joab* entertained the challenge of *Abner*, twelue to twelue, and fought it out. I answer, they were of seuerall allegiance, and in case of iust warre. *David* had then no more but *Iuda* vnder him; the rest followed *Ishboseth* the son of *Saul*, whom *Abner* then serued: and I often haue tolde you the difference.



2. Reg. 1.

rence betweene iust warre and priuate combate. And if ye thinke this a distinction of my owne, without warrant, because it is somewhat new to ye: reade the third of *Kings*, where king *David* calleth it the blood of warre in peace, to reuenge your selues by sword; and gaue iudgement accordingly vpon *Joab* that hee should dye for it. Thou shalt not suffer him (saith hee to *Salomon*) to dye in peace; because he hath spilt the blood of warre, or blood (that may not be spilt but in warre) in time of peace. And what is it the *Duellor* spils, or would spill, but his fellowes blood? When? in time of peace. Some there be haply, that thinke it to be sinne, to fight thus, because all that be godly thinke it. Yet their errour is, that they thinke it excusable. And

1. Cor. 10.

that out of Saint *Pauls* owne words, not vnderstanding the scripture, where he saith: *Let no temptation take holde of ye, but humane*: that is to say, a mans temptation, a tēptation belonging to a man, and not to a beast; a temptation of dishonor, which beasts are not capable of, & therefore may seem to be excepted or wincked at here by this word *humane*. I answer, howsoeuer it may lessen the fault of the wronged, more then of him that wrongeth for point of offence; yet nothing it makes for their purpose. For I neuer heard that place vnderstood of such grosse and vulgar temptations; but rather as Saint *Augustine* expounds it, of such as the godlier sort commit by mentall detracting, or suspition sometimes without cause, and such like. Called *humane*, because it is not diabolical, as *Lucifers* was of pride or malice; *humane* because it is not of beasts (as ye say) frō lust or from reuenge; *humane*, because it touches at humane infirmity, and puts vs in mind that we are but men, the best of vs. *Humanum dico propter infirmitatem*, saith Saint *Paul* in an other place. I call it humane saith he, because of our infirmity, by the which the best that are, fall seauen times a day, and cannot therefore be meant by Duell, which commonly comes of pride, anger, or base vulgar feare; and is neuer seuered from contempt of lawes. And it is ridiculous to say as some say, that if their manhood were knowne once in a combat or two, they would doe so no more. Like the woman, that tryed her chastity.

Esa. 14.

Rom. 6.

Prou. 24.



chastity so long, till she wounded it. But where doe they liue (trow yee) that thinke so? No mans house on fire neere them, to shew their courage in? No occasions of manhood neere hand in defence of some innocent that is in danger of robbing or beating? Nothing neere them to make their valour and spirit knowne, but they must goe into the felde to make it lesse knowne of all true esteemers? They vouch the authoritie of *Francis* the first, for satisfaction of the lye giuen. But that makes nothing for priuate Duell; which both that Prince was much against, and in his owne case refused, if we beleeeue *Surins*. Yea, none more against it, then our *Henry* the fourth, a Magnanimous Prince, who now liueth. As by his rigorous edicts against this enormity which I touched before, it may appeare. What else our Duellors can say for themselves, I knowe not. *Marshall Biron* was to be commended for his valour and fortune otherwise, but not for his three to three combate with *Mounsieur Cerrancy*, where his side slew the other side, and was driuen to liue basely for it, till his father got his pardon, but God neuer gaue him a quiet minde after. Hee sought to witches and forcerers, and in the end aspiring to be Duke of *Burgundy*, a base Burgundian strok of his head. Neither are the two combats of late between *Don Philippin*, & *Crequi* in any sort to be followed. For although they were of contrary allegiance, noble personages & stout warriors both of them; the one bastard brother to the *Duke of Sauoy*, the other a Baron of France: yea though the Duke himselfe out of passion inforc't his brother to it the second time, where they fought desperately in their shirts, and *Philippin* was runne through and stucke to the ground: yet the Duke perceiued quickly that he had done amisse, and sent after him with speede, to bring him backe againe, when it was too late. Neither durst any man there bury him in Christian buriall, as great a man as he was. What further authoritie they can hammer out of diuilesh custome, is all they haue. Good customes are laudable; but *Malus mos abolendus est*. Custome may not make sinne lawfull, or make it lesse, but rather greater faith *Ramundus*. Lesse seene I grant, and therefore more dan-



gerous, as we see by many examples. How comes any vice to reigne as it doth, and to dance vnsceene, but by daily ill custome? Hath not vsury gotten vp to such an height of ill custome, that many cannot see the iniustice of it; yea maintaine it to be lawfull? and that is heresie. How common are dreadfull oathes by ill custome; so as the swearer neuer thinkes of it, but rather sweares that he sware not. So of drunkenesse, so of ribauldry and ribauld plaies, where the people laugh not so fast; but the diuell out-laughis them. What should I speake of dicing, tabling, and carding at this day in such excesse, either for long sitting at it, or greatnes of the game; night and day, nights and daies spent in it, forgetting health, nature, iustice; loose their time, gaine losse and ruine their estates. Why so? Want they witte? Not, so. They doe as others doe. Gallants teach it them, and they teach others. Custome makes it familiar, and all passeth cleere with vs vnder colour of company keeping, and nothing else to doe, and I doe but as I will be done to. And therefore you, that be souldiers, or men of spirit, no maruell, if ye be deceiued also in your kinde. Euery man is taken and tript in his owne humour. Yee know what belongs to fight, but not alwaies when yee may doe it, and when not. Remember still the saying of the Athenians, *Nullum inhonestum utile*. *Themistocles* told *Aristides* a way how to conquer the Lacedemonians, and to bee reuenged on them. *Aristides* related it to the Senate out of the pulpit. But because it was not honourable, they would none of it. So say I. Is there sinne in it? then not honourable. Is there no way to quit our selues, but to strike God almighty? Remember in your assaults of anger, what *Philip* of *Macedon* said to *Demochares* the Athenian Oratour, when hee tolde the king, it would please the Athenians well if hee would goe hang himselfe. *Seneca* saith, the king was not mooued with it, nor touched him for it, as hee might; but willed him goe aske his masters that sent him, which was more honourable, to giue those words, or to take them? An answer most worthy the father of *Alexander*. But let vs ende where wee began. My deare louers and friends, let



vs neuer be so hotte, as to forget to be Christians. And let vs bee also Christianlike. And whatsoeuer fault wee haue, as who hath not; yet let vs hate no man, no, not our enemy; but pittie him, and inwardly loue him for his loue, and Pitties sake, who gaue his hearts blood for his mortall enemies. His loue brought him from heauen to earth; and your loue must bring you from earth to heauen. Our learned say, and I beleue it well, There is no vertue such as this, to indeere vs to God; nor any thing the diuell bestirs him more in, then to breake in sunder the linkes, that chaine vs together. Let vs be wise in this, or in nothing. Say, we be suddenly mooued to breake amity or peace: Yet let it not bee much, or if much; yet *Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram*, Eph. 4. Let not the sunne goe downe in your wrath. It will not ill become a redde scarfe, and a plume of feathers, to heare the trumpet of God speake. Let not the sunne go downe in your anger saith Saint *Paul*. As who should say, when ye lye downe, lay downe. What must ye lay downe? Lay downe your weapon, lay downe all malice and hatred. More then that. Lay downe anger, and all thoughts of reuenge. So farre be it from yee, to thinke of challenge, or answer in that kind. Vanquish your selues, ouercome your selues, shewe your selues Gods men, and conquer your selues. If ye were hotte in the day, bee coole; at night. If yee were hasty when time was, yee haue respite to thinke on it, double not your folly with a new daies sinne. The sunne is downe, yee must thinke no more of it. Haue yee vowed reuenge? Haue yee tenne times vowed it? The sunne is downe, yee are bound to breake your vowe. Aske your learned, if it be not so? Euery time you goe to pray they will tell you, yee must lay aside quarrels. Forget and forgiue if yee will bee heard of God. Especially, at two times, and then it is sacriledge they say, or sinne against the holy Ghost, to keepe a quarrell in your breast. The one is when yee goe to receiue the Sacrament. The other in any likeli-hood of death; be it by seruice, or sicknesse, as yee may learne also by the heathen *aforesaid Phocion*. Let Duellors looke to this at their perill, that goe to dyc, or



Mat. 9.

2. Cor. 6.

Psal. 34.

may dye, and carry so bloody a mind with them in steade of a winding sheete. Let vs not be harder hearted then *Pagans* in the new Orbe, where the Lords, or Naires would stab their seruants dayly vpon their least miscarriage towards their Masters. They leaue it now, rather then loose the Church-rites. Euen so must we do by rancour and reuenge. We may not carry such baggage to Church with vs. If yee bee wronged, I denie ye not to right your selues by law, or other meanes lawfull; and if lawes releue you not, I wish they might. But this I must tell you. Ye may not looke to haue all that is wrong to be righted heere in this world, or not so suddenly as your heat, and hastinesse many times expects. If all things were right heere, there were no matter of patience in this life. Saint *Paul* was content with good fame, and badde. The testimony of a good conscience was to him sufficient. And ye are no better then *Scipio*, and *Coriolanus*, that died in banishment by malice of their enemies. Some are kept from lands, some from goods, or good name, and shall not be righted till Doomsday. And yet if a man haue patience; the case is very rare, but he may bee righted heere. But it may bee yee are in haste, ye cannot stay the Magistrates leisure, nor your friendes. And what will ye do if ye be sore hurt? must ye be whole in haste, or not at all? will ye giue time to your Surgeon for your curing, and none to the Magistrate for your satisfying? Bee not to earnest, and hotte in your parly. Be not furious as some be, nor giue euill words. A lauish tongue was neuer graft on a noble hart. I haue noted, that the worthier the persons be, the sooner they be at one. And *Cesar*, when he perceiued his mortall enemy *Calvus* but a little inclining to peace, he preuented him streight, and wrot vnto him first. But I make an end. Set God before yee I beseech yee. Let it not be *nobis utile*, that is *turpe deo*. And yee may know the foulnesse of your fault alwaies by your vnwillingnesse to be aduised in it by any reuerend man. I haue beene long; but it may be for your profite, if ye escape a scourge by mee. Haply yee will one day say with King *Dauid*, *Congregata sunt super me flagella, et ignorabam*. When ye shall see your fault, and seeke to amend



amend it ; God will drawe the vaile from before your eyes, and shewe you the whippes, that were readie for yee, if yee had continued in this errour. But yee haue time now to consider of it. Once againe remember S. Paul, *Sol non occidat*. Is the Sunne downe ? Cry truce to anger, truce to reuenge. Free your soules from passion, and vnquietnesse. True honour bee your ground. Weare no colours but of God, and your Prince, and relye vpon them boldely. So shall yee bee as truely honourable, as yee bee duely obsequious. *Iacta super dominum curam tuam*, Cast your care vpon God,

and your countrey ; and they will protect  
your honour, and defend your fame,  
and will not suffer yee to goe  
to your graues with the  
least disgrace.

Psal. 54.

FINIS.





THE  
HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF LONDON  
FROM THE  
FIRST  
SETTLING OF THE  
TOWNE  
TO THE  
PRESENT  
STATE  
OF THE  
CITY  
AND  
COUNTY  
OF MIDDLESEX  
IN THE  
SEVENTEENTH  
CENTURY  
BY  
JOHN STOW  
ESQ.  
OF THE  
CITY OF LONDON  
COUNSELLOR AT LAW  
AND  
OF THE  
CITY OF LONDON  
ALDERMAN  
IN THE  
SEVENTEENTH  
CENTURY  
LONDON  
PRINTED BY  
J. STONE  
AT THE  
PRINTING-HOUSE  
OF  
J. STONE  
IN  
ST. MARTIN'S LANE  
1687







TO THE RIGHT  
HONORABLE SIR  
FRANCIS BACON

KNIGHT, BARON OF VER-  
VLAM, LORD HIGH  
Chancellour of England.



*S*R, you are the highest Iusticer in this land, or next the highest. And therefore this peece of my labour if it be worth so much, I thinke fit to dedicate to your Honor. In this garden of English iustice you are a principall gardiner, where euery subiect should be a weeder; to pull up that by the roote, which makes you endlesse worke. This roote of Auarice is not so great but the compasse of a heart containes it. The biggest man hath no bigger plat to weed in: and yet your Lordsh. findes to your paines, that it is not done, and perhaps neuer lesse done. You can doe no more but cut it downe as it growes hurtfull: yet up it comes againe like Hydraes heads. If I can weede it in my selfe, which I cannot well say; and can shew an other how, which I dare say: let no man despise an admonishing brother, that speakes in Gods name, and his countries, & under your Lordships correction. My proiect I doubt not will be well pleasing, if it want not well handling. So, wishing you all the blessings of the Patriarke Ioseph, I humbly take leaue of Your Lordship.

All your good Lordships  
to command

W. Wiseman.



TO THE RIGHT  
HONORABLE  
SIR





# THE SECOND CHARGE BY THE CIVILLIAN AGAINST AVARICE.



He noble Philosopher, and Statesman *Plutarke* hath such a saying : De ira that lust, selfe-loue, and cupidity do cohibe prouoke much anger in vs, and breede in our bosomes a neast of Bees. As much to say : they put sowre in our sweet, gall in our pleasure, a sting in our hony ; and our best contentments worldly are subiect to a frette. And to prooue his words true as touching lust ; what gall it is mixt withall, wee neede not seeke so farre as the destruction of *Troy* for the rape of *Helena*, and the warres that were made for loue of her. Wee haue examples enough at home, of those that haue lost their liues, and limmes for women. And for the other part which is *Couetousnesse*, or *Cupidity* ; and what matter it giues for anger, and vnquietnesse ; we may well perceiue it, both by courts of iustice, that are full of quarrelling for *thine*, and *mine* ; and also by them that haue more then they can spend ; yet rest not so content, but still will be adding more water to the sea.

Of anger or the part *Irascible* (right worthy friends, and gentlemen of great hope) it pleased my good Lord to speak very nobly yesterday ; and there is nothing to bee added, though all be too little that can be said, if the *concupiscible*



also be not well qualified, and made to know it selfe. Of this therefore it comes to my course to speake to day, though very vnable for it: and where the last daies charge was to quench the fire of anger with coole water; now shall it be my endeauour to pull away wood from it also, and all combustible matter if I can, that there may bee nothing to kindle it.

And it will no doubt be worth my labour; since there is nothing hurts vs more then *anger*, nothing stirres vp anger sooner, then euill guided *Concupiscence*, whereof I shall now intreate. And yet of *lust* and *luxurie*, which is t'one halfe of it, I will not speake, those being such knowne sinnes, and hauing so little excuse for them, that their apparant deformity doth shew it selfe sufficiently, without my labour, and your trouble at this time. And they that are entangled with this vice, if they would refraine it as well, as they know it well to be sinne; they would not (sure) bee farre from the kingdome of heauen. My charge shall be to you, the other part called *Conetousnesse*, a desire of other mens; in latine *alieni appetentia*. And not of all that neither, as of vsury, theft, or vniust bargaines, by cheuance, practise, cosinage, or deceit, such as lawes doe punish and take note of. All these are likewise so manifest to a mans owne conscience, that he needes no other tutor, then himselfe to instruct him, nor yet an heauier iudge then himselfe, to condemne him.

My purpose only is to speake of one thing, and that is the desire we haue of too much, which is called *superfluum*; the vnstinted desire (I say) of more by much, then is ynough, or competent to our estate. And for this, as there is no law against it, nor can well be, but ones owne will; so the will is *commonly in infinitum*, if there be meanes to feede it. It is true, there is no law against this, and therefore we must be our owne law; the euill of it being as dangerous to our soule, as it is vnmarked: and yet we run on with it as moules doe vnder the earth, vntill we be catcht in a ginne, and lye sweating in our moulten mettall for it in hell, ere we be aware. God requires it therefore, that we should be our owne law, and that we be carefull herein. The nature of common  
good



good requires it. *Charitie*, and brotherly loue in that we be euen Christian, doth also require it, and challenge it at our hands. For otherwise how come publike weales to allow of priuate possessions; how doth God reſtraine his hand from the *common good*, to the good of a few; if he put not a truſt in thoſe few, as in his faithfull ſtewards, to diſpence his bountie, and deuide it againe when they haue it; and to diſpoſe it to his fellowes, as cauſe, or neede requireth.

*Gods is the earth, and the fulneſſe thereof.* And when God Pſal. 123.  
made vs, he gaue it vs to liue of. *Terram dedit filiis hominum.* Pſal. 113.  
He gaue it not at the firſt to one, more then to another, but to the ſonnes of men indifferently. And as he gaue them the earth, ſo he gaue them the fulneſſe withall, that euery one might haue full ynough, and no more. And the earth is a large field, and was alwaies able to feed them all that liued on it, and more. And ſo *common-weales* began with equality, and equall diſtribution of outward fortunes, and none to haue more then other. *Noe, Sem, Cham, and Iaphet*, had all betweene them, and their poſteritie after them. The *Iſraelites* had there *partage* in the land of *promise per funiculum distributionis*, part & partlike, as it is written in the *Pſalmes*. V  
And that which they had thus, the law was ſo carefull to pre- Pſal. 77.  
ſerue equalitie, that they could not *morgage*, or ſell the ſame, but it muſt reuert againe to them in the yeere of *Iubilie*. *Euen ſo amongst gentiles a while*. And when this equalitie was broken, they laboured ſtill to reſtore it, and reduce it if it might be, as by the practiſe of all eſtates throughout the world, and the conſent of law-makers accordingly, it may appeare. Such as *Bocharis, Licurgus, Draco, Solon, Romulus*, all tending to this, to cut of *superfluum* in many, and to helpe *pouertie* in the moſt, who haue bodies as well as the beſt, and muſt haue maintenance as well as the rich, and are the Maior part of the *common-wealth*, yea the principall ſtrength of the ſame.

For the taking away of extortion, oppreſſion, and miſery in the multitude, and that all ſorts might liue in comfort, and their *Common weale* happie, and prosperous; they laboured in the beginning to bring it to equalitie, thinking nothing ſo fit for their purpoſe, as that. And *Licurgus* herein went



further then the rest, or else had better fortune. For in what estate hee left the Lacedemonians, in that they continued five hundred yeares after, no nation stronger, or more invincible then they. But when gold and silver came in againe, which hee had vtterly banished; they lost both valour, and greatnesse together (as is noted by good authors) and they were no better then other men. When they fell to gathering, and heaping once, equality was gone, and the strength of the *Communitie* was dissolued with anguish and care. For like as the streame of a riuer goes quietly away without noyse, and seekes the leuell without murmure, if it haue no shelues to trouble it vnderneath, nor narrownesse of the bankes to stoppe the course of it: euen soe it is with the streame of a common-wealth. The channell are the commons, or vulgar sort, who are easily mooued, and runne not euen towards their happinesse, if the bankes on both sides, which are lawes, and magistrates, stand not firme to them, and haue not care to keepe them in their ancient boundes, with paring and sewing them, as they ought, where *golden sandes* lye clottering in heapes to gull them vp.

Equality I must say had beene good amongst vs, if it were possible to holde. But it is indeede so like to heauen, that earth cannot holde it long. It hath such affinity with *Angelicall* perfection, that it will not well relish with humane corruption. And therefore in vaine they sought to establish it in any worldly Estate. Saint *Austine* beganne a course of equality or community with some of his companions, before hee was a perfect Christian; but it helde not long; his designe was dissolued. Euen so those Law-makers, they began well, but it would not continue. The sequell of subsequent ages tels vs, that they consumed themselues the most part of those great wise men, with vnprofitable labour. If mindes bee contrary, how can possessions bee agreeable? If affections bee opposite, how can effects conspire in equall tearmes? And yet I holde well with their ground, and most certaine it is, equality there must be one way or other, else no common-wealth can stand. And this equality I seeke for, which heathens could not, and we must finde, that are Christians, or no people in the world.

A thing



A thing which our great master of conscience Saint *Paul* 2. Cor. 8. exhorted, and directed the *Corinthians* vnto, for disposing their abilities to them that were in neede, *ut sit equalitas*, that there may bee equality faith hee ; as vpon occasion I shall tell you anon, when I shall speake of *Superfluum*. For there is a rule of conscience, which among the vertuous is instead of a law, and in lieu of equality, and that is this ; to cut away *Superfluum* in all men. Keepe your lands, keepe your possessions to yee, bee they neuer so great, or more then others haue ; yet put your *Superfluum* out of your handes, and others are euen with yee, that haue lesse. Put not away what yee neede, but what yee neede not. Doe but imploy it well what yee may not holde, and all will be well. This way and no other, will soone make equality ; euen that which our Law-makers haue sought for, and could not attaine.

The *Spartans* would haue all men bring in there money, *Plut.in.* and to deuide it amongst many. But when rich men liked *Lycurgus*, not that, they banished money quite ; *gold and siluer* made no payment, but lumpes of yron in lieu of them, fise pound of ours in their new coyne, was a horse load. And as long as this held, there was *equalitie* ; but when siluer came in againe, *equalitie* went out, and could tarrie no longer. The *Romanes* to auoide inequalitie, and extraordinary greatnesse in some, ouer other some, which they saw was by incroaching, and buying vp all, that others would sell ; whereby some grewe mightie, and the greater part in misery ; they made this *Liue lib. 6.* law : that none should haue more then fise hundred acres at once. For so much was thought enough for the best man in *Rome* to spend in his house by the yeare. The law was good, but it held not. And *Licinius Stolo*, that made it, brake it, *lib. 7.* and was in *premunire* for hauing a thousand. Their *leges agrariae* also were without number, but their *couetousnesse* brake them. By *Cæsars* law a will was not good, where nothing was giuen in *common* ; but this beeing forced, and inuoluntarie, it came to little purpose, and the Emperour *Antoninus* was driuen to abolish it, and left it altogether to mens good willes.



Other *countries* haue other lawes to fetch it away againe: what others draw to them, and hold so fast when they haue. And those be, to rate mens possessions for *contribution* to the poore, and other publike *charge*, as they did also in *Rome*. Yet this doth but little good, neither in most places. Rich men fauour one another, and *conceale* there estates; and so hardly comes any thing from them, and with so euill a will, that it can haue no blessing, and the poore especially haue little certaintie of it, but chuse rather to trie their fortunes abroad with begging, then like to attend an vncertaine curtesie at home. Many lawes might be reckoned in this kind, but none like the law of conscience, for true working, and benefite, both to ones selfe, and others; and to *conscience* it must be left, when all is done. Which law, because it cānot be done before it be knowne, and is most necessarie to bee alwaies in vse, and fresh in your memorie: I will open it briefly vnto you, and exhort you to it in the end; craving nothing of yee for it in lieu of my paines, but your best attention.

Heb. 13.

Diuines whom we ought to follow in matter of conscience; *ipsi enim peruigilant*, these be they that watch for vs, and haue charge of our soules, that we may doe the best, or not the worst for want of instruction: they tell vs many things, that are good for vs to know, if we desire to bee secure of our safety, and profitable to others. They tell vs first, we must loue God aboue all things, and this not with loue composed of words, but inward, reall, and effectuell; breaking out *per actum elicitem*, as they call it, as fire out of a flint, by expresse word, or thought, that may testifie to our selues, our inward feeling. Some such touch had the Heathen Philosopher, when he cryed out in a sweet admiration, saying: *O ens entium, miserere mei*, Haue mercy vpon mee ô thou maker of all things: as if hee had seene what hee in the *Canticles* saw, when he said; *All faire art thou my loue, there is no spotte in thee*. Or what King *David* saw in *Ionathas* (which is by interpretation the gift of God) saying he was to be loued more then the loue of women. Or when he saide in the *Psalmes*; *How admirable is thy name ouer all*  
the

Plato.

Cant. 4.

2. Reg. 1.

Psal. 6.



the earth. And in another place: *How enticing thy tabernacles* 2. King. 1.  
*ô my Lord : my heart doth leape to thinke on thee, and my flesh* Pfal. 6.  
*exults after my living God. When shall I come and appeare be-* Pfal. 83.  
*fore the face of my God:* and such like. Some writers holde,  
 that if a child doe dye after vse of reason, and neuer raised  
 to God-ward any act of loue, either little, or much; he can  
 hardly be saued. And their breeders are infinitely to blame  
 that put them not to it. For if nothing on our part do bring  
 vs to heauen, but loue; and this loue be so cold in a capable  
 creature, as neither inward eie of faith can mooue him, nor  
 howerly benefites can stirre him to loue the bestower; how  
 can such a spirit aspire, where God hath to doe?

They tell vs next, we must loue our selues next. And in our  
 selfe, are two things contained. Our soule, and our body.  
 Our soule we must esteeme aboue all creatures, and we must  
 not aduenture the losse of it for ten thousand soules. Our  
 third loue is to our neighbour, both body, and soule. His  
 soule I must loue more then my life, and goods; especially  
 if I be his pastour, and haue charge of him *ex officio*. His  
 life also I may preferre before my owne out of friendship,  
 if not out of charity. And so I may loose my life for him,  
 or in defence of the weake, or innocent body; and this is a  
 great vertue, but we are not alwaies bound to it. Wee are  
 taught also, how to loue our parents, wife, children, & which  
 more, if it come to be shewne, as in case of necessitie. There  
 is a loue and care due to seruants, that they want no neces-  
 saries; to masters that wee faile them not in our duty, or  
 charge. They teach vs to loue our benefactors, both bodi-  
 ly, and ghostly, and which more, if it may not be done to  
 both alike. There is a iustice, and truth in all these. And  
 it is not idle to aske, and know our duty in all. And yet  
 these latter may seeme more curious then necessary; but  
 I come to greater matters, and more neere to our pur-  
 pose.

They shew vs further our duty to the publique, and where  
 the common good is to bee preferred before priuate; and  
 where it is in our wils to preferre it or not. And first for  
 life, or member, if twenty doe assault mee, I may kill them



all rather then be killed ; so it be in my iust defence, and not against lawfull authority. And yet if a man be so charitable, they doe not deny, but he may suffer himselfe to bee killed, rather then kill. Whereof there haue beene noble examples, though very few now adaies. And therefore men are deceiued when they thinke they are bound to kill rather then be killed. It is not so. They may kill, but they are not bound. Yea on the other side, if he that assaults mee vniustly bee a publique person, as the king, or any of his children, I am bound to flye him, as *Dauid* did *Saul*: but if he follow me so hard, that I must kill or be killed, I am bound to loose my life, and it lyes not in my choise. So of a Bishop, or some other eminent person, whom the Common-wealth cannot spare ; if one boate will not holde both, I am bound to flippe out, and leaue my selfe to God. Yea they say further, if my life be sought maliciously in France, and I flye into England for succour, and there is like to be warres for mee, or breach of amity betweene Princes : although the State may not deliuer mee, for that were *tradere iustum sanguinem* ; Yet am I bound to render my selfe to my enemies before publique peace should be broken, or any league in hazzard for mee. Such high regard must be had of publique good, that a mans priuate is almost nothing to it. And with this we see how the law of nature concurreth. *Hesione* was commended for it, and so was *Curtius* the Romane, for exposing themselves as they did ; the one to bee deuoured of a monster, the other to be swallowed horse and man in a gashfull pit, to stoppe the plague, that was then in their citty.

They teach vs also touching goods and possessions, or any worldly thing we haue, that tendeth to our being, or well being : they be all either *necessary*, or *superfluous*. Necessaries a man must not be negligent to provide. And it is lawfull for vs to loue them so farre forth, as we cannot bee without them, no more then without life. And these be in two sorts, as either *necessaries* of life, meate, drinke, warme cloathes, which euery one must haue, the poorest that is : or *necessaries* of estate that a man was borne to, or liueth in.



As if he be a yeoman, thus; if a knight or gentleman, thus; if a nobleman, thus; and the greater the persons are, the more things are necessary, which to the inferiour are excessive. And all these may haue a proportion in our loues. We loue a new hatte, or garment, a faire gowne, or handsome cloake, or what else is fitting for vs to weare within our compasse or degree. Wee loue a good dish, and competent fare, proportionable to our meanes. And euery man knowes what is meetest for him, and best futing to his ability; euenthat the ciuilest sort of his ranke doth vse with *decency*, and without ostentation, or incroaching vpon the ranks about him, eyther man or woman.

A great many delight, yea too too many in excesse, but such loue is naught, and vicious. The backe and belly haue made much worke for Parliaments, and Lawyers euery where. It is an old fault, and the Lacedemonians so preuailed against it, both for diet and wearing, that the subiect neuer exceeded. The Romanes likewise had many lawes about expences, called *sumptuarie*; as the *Emilian*, and *Licinian* lawes, what they should spend ordinarily, and what vpon *Calends*, and festiuall dayes. By the lawes *fannia*, and *didia*, principall men were bound to spend but so much in meate, and no more, besides hearbes, bread and wine, and that must be of the same country, and no other. To say nothing of the *Anthian* lawe, that was made to barre suppers, and other lawes without number, which their outrage of excesse gaue occasion of. There was also the law *Oppia* for apparrell, especially for women, that they might not exceede in their settings out, nor be carried in litters. Yet *Solon* would not haue them walke the streetes in solemnitie out of coach; neither might they weare in their eare about seauenty graines. Their excesse ye must thinke was very strange, and monstrous, that caused these lawes; and there be many statutes in our daies for wearing, but no reformation. I know no good comes of them, saue that they argue vs of our pride, and giue vs a learning what is fitte for euery one to weare. Other fruite I see none of them, neither force I much.



I speake onely of the law, that should be within vs, the law of a good conscience, which is, to know, and doe, and to cutte off excesse in all. It shewes a weakenesse of minde, and poorenesse of soule, that powres it selfe out so excessively vpon outward vanities, and pride. For what is it els? they would be great, and are not great, they would bee Queenes, and are not Queenes, yet leaue no ornament for Queenes, but their crowne. I haue heard of a lawyers wife that came before *Queene Elizabeth* in a gowne, and kyrtle of needle work, set forth with strawberries, and pescods of filke, and siluer. The *Queene* asked her name; which when she had tolde her, the *Queene* laught at her, and called her *Queene N.* I cold giue our women some good examples to imitate, which were better then any lawes, if they will. But as the cause of this excesse is meere pride, and want of witte, so the nature of it is, to be worse for counsell. Themselues would be all others patternes, and will haue no *paragon*. Yet men should bee wiser then they, though womens doteries doe befoole them too much. For what women delight in, they must weare, and draw women the rather to vnderpeere them. But my purpose is not to amend all in others, that haue faults ynough of my owne to amend. Yet these things fall within compasse of my charge; and where they be, they must be amended betimes, or deerely paid for.

All other excesses, in hunting, hawking, feasting, and disportes, which haue little restraint by law, belong all to my *argument*; being as they are, *Cupidities* inordinate, and vndoing loues, if they draw vs to much cost, and to waist our estates. The estate of all men is much regarded and fauoured by learned *Juristes*, and *Casuistes*, and therefore they hold two or three things hereabouts, that would be noted. As first for almes, that although the precept be generall to all, for giuing to the poore, and needie, that are neere them: Yet this is onely vnderstood, if a man haue *superfluum*. It must be out of some abundance, or *ouerplus* that a man hath. He must not weaken his estate with giuing; which if he doe, it is sinne. For if *Charitie* bids, yet iustice forbids, vnlesse the neede be extraordinarie: for vertues are not



contrary, but complying with each other, if they be true virtues, and vsed with discretion. My meanes is a thousand crownes a yeere, and I haue wife, children and family to maintaine in frugall sort, not denying the reuerſion of my table to the poore. This is my daily charge, and of this I may not diminish to giue *larger almes*. And if I go further, it is indiscretion, and *vicious*. Excesſe in vertue is a vice, how much more in euill things.

They hold further, if I be in debt, or decay by losſe, or want of ſome *providence*, which all haue not alike: I am bound to pay *Creditors* aſſoone as I can without notable impayring of my eſtate, and not before: and the *Creditour* is bound to ſtay for it, if there be no fraud in me or intention to deceiue, nor need in the money lender; or if there be, yet they diſtinguiſh of neede. For there is *grauis neceſſitas*, and there is *extrema*. Extreame neceſſitie is of life; as if both of vs want meate and clothing, and I owe him as much, as will buy but one of vs our dinner, ſo as one of vs is like to ſtarue; I am not bound to pay it him. For the uſe of all things is common in extremities, and the law of nature they ſay muſt be prefer'd before the law of nations, and propriety. Yet this caſe is rare, but in a ſiege, or famine.

The caſe of great neceſſitie (which is the other ſort of neede) hath bene ſomewhat more common; as if *creditour*, and *debtour* be both in like danger of arreſt, the one if he be not paid his owne, the other if he paie. Some ſay the debtour muſt paie, ſome ſay he is not bound. I thinke he is bound if he borrow it *gratis*, but this caſe alſo is not often, that both neceſſities alike ſhould meete ſo iuſt. The common caſe is, that the debtour cannot paie ſuddenly, and the *creditour* is able to ſtay for it. This is the caſe that troubles many, and *wrings* the multitude, as we ſee by daily examples. All our learned hold, the *creditour* muſt forbear, and haue patience, *patientiam habe, omnia reddam tibi*, as he in the Mat. 18. Goſpel ſaid to one that he owed money vnto, and becauſe the *creditour* would not forbear, he was deliuered to the tormentours. The *Saniour* of the world might ſeeme to call it a choaking ſinne, *Tenuit, & ſuffocauit eum*, he arreſted his fellow,



fellow, and choked him vp in a Iayle, and yet as his case was, he had some reason to doe as he did, and to importune his owne debtour for his owne, being himselfe in neede, and in danger to his Lord for a great deale more. But my purpose is not to proue my *conclusions*, which would aske much time; but onely to informe you of these verities; which your learned can instruct you in, better then I, if you be as ready to follow them in all your doubts, as they will be ready to *guide* you, and *gouerne* you.

Take heed I beseech you, and you cannot be too heedy of this kinde of sinne. For though lawes were made for the rich, and this was not alwaies law, that all extremitie should be vsed but *hanging*, for recouerie of debts; no *cessio in bonis* will serue but a mans flesh, and not a groat sometimes left him to releue himselfe and a poore familie with; which yet the law of nature and nations prouideth for, that a mans person should not want out of his owne goods; and yet notwithstanding, I would not blame lawes or policie for it, if there were store of *conscience in lenders*, or if lenders would lend *gratis*, as they haue done: Yet remember still the old saying, that extreame right is extreame wrong. Is there no meane amongst Christians? For want of a Tyrant to raigne ouer vs, shall we tyrannize one ouer an other, or haue power in our hands to do it, if we list? If our goods be in our hands, let vs vse them as we may; if they be out of our hands, let vs get them in as we neede; but let it be done with all Christian lenity; let no choaking or throtling be heard of amongst vs which will hurt our poore brother, and doe vs no good.

Math. 18.

The Lord I spake of in the Gospel, had to do with a debtour, that was able to pay, yet gaue him day to make money: we deale with many that be nôt able, and haue nothing to helpe them with but their labour and paines, and yet we cast them in prison, take all their meanes from them, and allow them nothing to keepe them. I said before, if there fault were fraud, *fraus nemini patrocina bitur*: there is no reason to spare them, that liue by practise and cosening. And yet we are not so *scrupulous* altogether, but that we may de-  
ceiue our deceiuer. If one steale from me priuily, or deceiue



mee subtilly, or extort from mee vniustly, I will steale, and wring from him if I can, and doe him no wrong in it.

*Fallere fallentem, violat neque ius neque gentem.*

Prouided alwaies, this bee done without scandall, and that we haue no other remedy at hand. But as the case of common debtors is, that haue no fraude at all in them, and grow behinde hand not by riot or vice, but for want of heede, or best aduice ; the difference is very great. All that shoote come not neere the marke. Some bee fortunate, but more are vnfortunate. Some their good nature hurtes, some their negligence, some bee ruled where they should not, and false hopes deceiue many, without either malice, or euill minde; and may rightly say by their outward fortunes, as *David* said by his inward, *ad nihilum redactus sum, & nesciui*, I am Psal. 72. wasted and consumed to nothing, and was not aware. Yet such as these wee punish heere, as if they had cosened vs ; and if wee durst bee so bolde, we would not spare the greatnessse of any man.

Wee are at losse by such I grant, but why then did wee trust ? what hope of gaine drewe vs to it ? or if not gaine, yet all things wee know are in aduenture ; nothing certaine in this world. Wee loose by sea, and say nothing ; we loose by land, and cannot helpe it ; wee loose by friends and kinsfolke many times, and looke for no amends ; wee are subiect to losse daily, and more to losse, then gaine. And why haue wee not patience then with one that is poore, and not so wise in the world, or not so thriving as wee ? Wee are bound sometimes to pardon when wee can right our selues. Why forbear wee not then, when reuenge will not right vs ? For what is it else but reuenge in vs when wee bee so greedy ? It is not seeking our owne by it, which will hardly bee had that way, and therefore what can wee make of such violent courses, but reuenge ? and there wee bidde them lie till they rotte.

O let vs not stand so high vpon the ruffes of our fortunes, or coffers thoroughly lined: let vs not conteme our debtors,



lest haply wee contemne our betters. God bleſſeth not all alike to the world. Who can tell what will betide the beſt of vs in time to come, or any of ours ? Wee are no better then one of the ſons of the Prophets in the fourth of *Kings*, who dyed in debt, and his children ſeized, and like to bee ſold for it : and yet *vir timens Deum*, Hee was a man that feared God. It is no ſigne of *reprobation* to owe money, but not to pay when wee haue it. *Mutuabitur peccator & non ſoluet*, The ſinner indeede will borrow and not pay, and is worthily puniſhed. But how many doe we know, and could name, that haue beene ſunke ere now, and ſhrunke in their fortunes ; which yet with liberty haue riſen againe to giue contentment, and could neuer haue done it in priſon ?

If reuerend antiquity had foreſeene the hardnes of hearts, and conſcience that now is ; they would neuer haue giuen way to ſuch Lawes as they did, that one ſhould tread another vnder foote as they doe. The perſon of a man hath bin much more precious of olde, then now it is, and ſtill is in *Spaine*, eſpecially if he be a gentleman. It was not ſubieſt to reſtraint for debt, no not for debt to the king, but by later lawes. And though Emperours alſo had like law for reconering their debts with more ſpeede ; yet *Constantine* tooke it away quite, ſo as none could haue their perſons touched but for felony, or contempt of maiesty, or magiſtrate. And thus it was in the beſt common-wealths that euer were, the *Egyptians*, the *Athenians*, *Spartans*, *Romans*, *France*, *England*, and others. And the noble king *Seruius Tullius*, gaue a reaſon of it, who ſet the olde law on foote againe, that creditours ſhould goe no further then mens goods, and lands. For why ſhould they looſe liberty (ſaid he) who preferue the common liberty with their liberty ? And yet much ado there was about it after that, for the ſpace of two hundred yeares. Creditors as they preuailed in credit with great men (which they did too much in our cuntry, or in time of peace, when there was no neede of men) got lawes againſt debtors, ſometimes to imprifon them, ſometimes to make them ſerue for their money. Which held a great while, till that foule matter fell out between the uſurer *Papyrius*, and his poore bondman young

*Publius*,

cap. 4.

Pſal. 37.

Baronius  
rom. 3.

Liui. 8.



*Publius*, whom he had so torne with whips, and rods for not yeelding to his *abominable voluptuousnes*: that the matter being knowne, there was present order taken by publique decree, that none should be in prison, or in bondage againe to *Creditours*, for time to come.

I heare of some now adaies, whom we haue knowne of good merite in their time, some of them walking the streetes continually in danger of arrest, and some that suffered long imprisonment, fīue, seauen, tenne, and some twenty yeares for no greater fault then misspending themselves when they had it, and no man I see takes compassion of them. Much better it were for them, to haue all their paines at once, and their *Carcasse* deuīded amongst the *Creditours*, as of old it was among the barbarous; then so to languish in ineuitable misery, beeing stript out of all meanes. And what is this but reuenge vnder colour of iustice. They say nine hornets kill a horse, and two vndoe a man. That is to say the ale-wife and a baylife; or if he bee a gentleman, the vsurer and a sergeant. How much better is it in *Scotland* and *Venice*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, and many other places, where men bee set free at the yeares ende, if they prooue vnable; and the *Creditour* in some countries beares the charge of the *Prisoner*. Better in *Gran Cayre* the head city of *Africke*, where the prison-keeper paies the debt, if he take in a prisoner that is not able. The roote of all this is extreame couetousnesse; which hauing lost the sword, would beate a man to death with the scabberd. Iustice hath denyed her the one, yet lets her tyrannize with the other as heauily as shee can. But I will proceede with our greater matters.

Two things more our pastours teach vs as touching our *estates*; the one is of our bettering it, the other is of our carriage in it towards the *Common*. In both which there is a great deale of iustice to be followed, and much iniustice is practised, that lies vnseene. And first for amending our meanes, they holde it a thing to be good, and lawfull, but that we are not bound to it. I holde it a sure way to bee alwaies mending it a little, if wee can, without abating our outward *Countenance*, or necessary charge. If it so increase



and in such wise, as hospitality increase withall, it is commendable and vertuous ; if otherwise , it is naught. It is *snudging* and niggardly and vnworthy a gentleman, or man of sort. And to this end I approoue their opinions , that spend but halfe in house-keeping ; that is to say, in meate, drinke, and wages : and of the other halfe, by that time we be competently cloathed , and haue paid our duties to the King, Church, Poore , and other necessities, to furnish and better our stocke , there will be but little left for much idle expence.

Neither am I forgetfull of children or of bestowing them when they come to age; which is also a necessary duty, and worth our care. Some exceede in it, and some come short. To giue great portions with one daughter, & little with the rest, is not as it should be. Some there be that straine themselves ouer farre , to match them ouer high. *I am no Solon.* But out of the soueraignty that a man hath ouer his children, it were good he made two lawes to himselfe , and if they were binding, it were all the better. One is neuer to giue aboue a yeares reuenue with any daughter ; and this were enough to marry them honestly, if not honourably. It is a sufficient proportion, if pride be not ; but where pride is, a great deale more is too little. I would not haue them so strict as *Solon*, or *Lycurgus* , who allow no portion at all for women, more then their cloathes, and some other necessities. The other law should be for sonnes ; neuer to pay the sonnes debt , that were riotously spent , hauing meanes sufficient allowed him , and such as he did accept. Or else the lawe of *Claudius* were good among vs , and the like was made by *Vespasian*, to auoide all bonds, especially of interest, which any should make, or enter into, who were at their fathers finding or liuing in house with him. This would be a great preservation of houses, and a stoppe to young men for *running riot* ; nor would there be such cheating vpon them as there is vpon presumption of payment. Good nature is against this, as it may seeme; but lesse good nature to ruinate ones house with vnlooked for leakage. Some prodigall child will be against me also. But we reade

not

Plut.vit.

Tacit.li.1  
Suet.

Luc.15.



not in Scripture that hee spent any more but his owne, his father paid no debts for him.

Increase of our estate is many wayes, and euery way vicious, if we looke not into it narrowly, and be not somewhat furnished with good counsell, and conscience. For auoiding of which danger, it is good for a man to informe himselfe of truth, and iustice in euery businesse; and he that flatters himselfe heerein, thrusts a sword in himselfe, and sets on fire his owne house, though hee liue not to see it. They that grow rich on a sudden, shall want blessing in the ending. And it is very suspicious that they come not *rightly* to it, vnlesse it be by merchandise, or offices. Land and mony can seldome doe it suddenly without wrong, and iniustice. It were wisdom neuer to purchase without store of *Superfluum*. It were charity to lend first (if the man be poore) before we buy his land of him. But we haue no precept for any of these. A man is bound to neither; and therefore I leaue it. Yet charity and iustice exact of vs, that we defraud no man of his full price in the purchase. Hee is driuen to sell; and when he hath solde, hee neuer comes to it againe. God forbid we should beguile him of aught, or make vse of him so farre, that instead of lending him, we should worke vpon his neede. Prou. 20.

The learned make three prices of euery thing, which they vse to call *summum medium*, and *infimum*. The highest, lowest, and middle price; each price exceeding other by one at the least for land: as if twenty be the most, eightene the least; the middle price must bee nineteene yeares purchase. Heere they tell vs, wee are bound to giue him eightene for his land: and no lesse; and the other may take twenty, and no more. I speake after the ordinary course of things. For times and circumstances may be, vpon occasion of warres, scarcity of mony, or fewnesse of buyers; and the contrary of these make it deare. Ordinarily, there bee two notable faults in buying and selling.

The one is in the buyer, the other is in the seller, and both proceede of griping, and couetousnes; and men must looke to answer for it in an other world, howsoeuer they



doe vaunt themselves of their fortune heere. I speake of no darke matters, but what euery one may know, and shall haue no excuse for, when God shal one day charge thē with blood-sucking one of another. We are bidden to doe what we will be done to, that is to say, wee must nōt doe, as wee will not bee done to. The law of nature teacheth vs, how abiect and base it is, and I may say *vnchristian-like*, to lye vpon aduantage as we doe one of another. There is a saying in *Ecclesiasticus*: *Qui querit locupletari angustabitur peccatis*, Hee that striues to be rich, shall be pinched with sinnes. And he compares the buyer, and seller, to a poast in a stone wall that cannot stirre for the stones that sticke so close round about it: euen so (saith he) stands *Couetousnesse* betweene buying, and selling, that can hardly stirre any way for sinning, and pinching our brother. I pray thinke of it seriously, it is no idle thing I tell you of.

The fault of the buyer is, to giue but the one halfe for it, or three parts of foure at the most. Heere is a whole quarter purloyned from the owner. Hee denies not the profite of it, hee mislikes not the tenour, or assurance, or honesty of the seller. But his reason is, I haue bought for twelue, I neuer gaue more then fourteene. A bad reason; I haue done naughtily, therefore I will not amend. I haue holpen to vndoe some, therefore I will vndoe more. But if hee wisht his sonne would sell so, he would not leaue him a foote. Another reason. He was as willing to take my mony, as I to giue it. True. And so it is with him, that giues forty in the hundred. A third reason. Land may fall to a low rate, but when? All the mynes are discovered, and set on broach to the world; people increasing, neuer more, and land they must haue of them that haue it. No warres likely, peace round about vs. And if they should sell againe, what they buy so good cheape; these would be no reasons. They will not sell for eighteen, that they bought for thirteene. But the true reason is, the sweet they haue by vnlawfull gaine. Ten in the hundred at the least, & most cōmonly interest, vpon interest now grown so cōmon, & *tirannising* almost euery where without controule: that who is there almost that hath mo-  
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Mat. 7.

Cap. 27.



ny, and will buy land, where he shall not see his mony again, in eightheene, or twenty yeares as hee must not, if hee doe iustly. Where contrary, the vsurer dubbles his hundred in seauen yeares all saue five pound, two shillings seauen pence. And in twenty yeares, he sees it five or sixe times double. His hundred is made sixe hundred, fourteene shillings, eleauen pence. His thousand comes to sixe thousand, seuen hundred, twenty seuen pound, nine shillings, eleuen pence. And if it come in halfe yearely, or quarterly, it is more. But this is his rate and rule, or no bargaine with him. Hee is not in neede himselfe, and to ther is, and must haue it at any rate, bee it neuer so vnconscionable. Banish therefore this monster, or common-wealths worme, and twenty pound land wil be worth twenty years puchase I doubt not. Where vice reigneth, vertue sits without dores; and land beares no price, nor fishing to the sea shortly where vsury domineers.

The sellers fault is to take double for it if he can; thinking euery thing so much worth as a man will giue for it. Which is not so. The price of land is certaine within a little ouer, or vnder, as I said before, though it bee not so of stone and pearle. But the iniustice of this is, when I make a man pay for his commodity ouer and besides the highest price. It is worth but twenty at the most, and I make him pay thirty, or five and twenty for it, because it lyes handsomely within him, or is so necessary for him, that hee cannot bee without it: all that I take aboue the highest ordinary, they tell vs is vniust, and subiect to restitution. For I make him pay twice for it. Once for the full value, another for his commodity. As if I should make a sicke body pay double for a partridge; one for the value, another for the wholesomnesse of it. This must needes bee extorting, and vicious; proceeding alwaies of couetice, or malice, and yet is growne so common, that men will not heare the contrary. To this may bee added Monopolies, or ingrocing of needefull commodities into one or a few mens hands, to make them dearer. Likewise to buy or sell with simple or vnexperienced persons, who know not what they buy or sell, yet are no fooles. The rule is this. They may buy for the least of the three; and they may sell



againc presently for the best of the three, and make gaine of it, but more then this will not bee warranted with good conscience.

The fault of both buyer and seller is this, that they ioy and glory in their doings. It is their daily study, and they take a pride in it. And what doe they glory in? Euen that which will worke them a great deale of woe. Happy is that man, that buyes as hee will sell, and sels as he will buy. This is the glory a good body should take; and not in pinching and pulling from his brother. *Mendaces filij hominum in statêris*, There is complaint made to God of vs, what ill measure wee keepe to our brother. King *David* calles vs lyars in our *weights*. We buy with one weight, and sell with another. Is this meant by none but bakers, and butterwines thinke yee; and not much more by other matters, that sinke mens estates, and make them *groane*. Why should the poore bee defrauded a penny of the full worth, when if a rich man sell, hee will haue more then hee, by tenne or twenty in the hundred.

*Aristides*, who for his singular iustnesse was called the *Iust*; defined *iustice* thus: not to desire any thing that was another mans. So farre was hee from taking, or seeking; that he would not so much as couet another mans. And how farre are wee from this, who are coueting still, euen when wee cannot haue? *Biblius* was so afraide of this *coueting* humour, that hee would not stoope at a purse, or any thing else hee found, for feare of beeing tempted. *In generall* it is good in buying and selling, to keepe euen betweene the pious or least price, and the rigorous or highest price, as your *Aristides* will aduise you, if yee will aske. I will not perswade you to do as *Hermes Egyptius* did, a great wise man, both learned and rich. Some thinke it was hee that *apologied* for Christians to the Emperour *Adrian*. It is written of him, that hee would neuer buy, but he would giue too much rather; and would not sell, but hee would take somewhat vnder. The like wee reade of *Quintus Mutius* long before him, who although hee were heathen, yet in compassion of the sellers neede, hee gaue them more for their houses



houses or lands which hee bought, then they would aske.

If wee that professe Christianity were all of his minde, wee would busie our heads no doubt, with better matters, and more worthy of our selues, then how to make gaine still by anothers harme ; neither doe I speake this to put scruples in your heads, which I am farre from, and I omit them of purpose. They be matters of great moment which I minde you of, and as much as your soules are worth ; no lesse I say, then the breach of one whole commandement, the last of the ten, *Thou shalt not so much as couet thy neighbours goods*, and this doth binde vs as much as the other nine. Exod. 20. 17 Howbeit, wee passe it ouer lightly, as if it were nothing ; being in very deede the summe and ground of all *Iustice* betweene man and man. In other *precepts* the act ; here the desire onely is forbidden, as either to desire an other mans, who is not willing to depart with it, as *Naboth* was not ; or to haue it for lesse then it is worth, as the *Common case* is at 3 Reg. 21. this day. And both these are directly against the Commandement, *Thou shalt not couet*. And therefore he that drawes from his neighbour in this manner, sinneth doubly ; that is to say, in *coueting*, which is a sinne alone by it selfe, and also in acting, which is against the eighth Commandement.

It is also against the generall precept of louing our neighbour as our selfe, which euery man is bound vnto. For *Qui non diligit manet in morte*. It is damnation I say, not to loue 1 Ioh. 3. our neighbour as our selues. And who is he that thinks he loues a man, and doth what he can to pull him on his knees ? The learned tell vs, there bee foure degrees of loue, which if wee haue not, or haue none of them, it is a signe that wee haue no loue. The first they say is *liquefaction*, that is to say, Aquinas. 1. 22. q. 28. 5. a melting, or a relenting heart towards our brother. The second is a delight we haue to be where we loue. The third is a heauinesse to bee from our loue. The fourth is feruour, or a burning loue. And although it be not giuen to euery man to haue these three last, which are delight, longing, and feruency : yet none can loue without the first, or least degree, which is a relenting, or compassion ouer our brother, when wee see him in distresse, and sell for neede. Surely, if this



bee loue, it is a congealed or frozen loue, which is contrary to melting loue. It is a colde loue, which is contrary to feruent loue. Yea, it is no loue at all ; or if it bee, it is the diuels loue, who loues vs to deuoure vs, and swallow vs downe his throat. What we giue our brother too little, would haply fet him vp againe, and doe our selues no hurt. And yet wee loue him so, that wee haue no feeling in vs of the least commiseration towards him.

Howbeit the corruption of the time so concealeth this iniustice from vs, and hath bredde such blindnesse in our hearts with continuall *conetung*, that it is now growne from a sinne, to a very disease. I know ye scanne vpon my words, and I doe not maruell. What ? shall I not buy as good cheape (say you) and sell as deare as I can ? nothing freer then gift ; if a man will giue mee his land, I will take it. But how many giue their land, that sell for neede ? Ye may not deceiue your selues, nor bee Iudges in your owne case. I exhort you to repaire to them that haue skill. And this is the whole scope of my speech. Beleeue not me, but beleeue them at your perill. We will not robbe, nor steale, nor scarce tell money on a Sunday ; and so long wee thinke all is well with vs. But wee will seeke a bargaine to day, that shall gaine vs fīue hundred, or a thousand to morrow ; and this is iust with vs, because it is no *usury*. How farre is this from the nature of bargaining, to doe as we doe. The very word of bargaining biddes vs barre gaine, and take but a penniworth for a penny. The Merchant aduentures dangerously for that hee gets ; but this man without aduenture at all, if hee meete with an honest man, and his Lawyer bee not asleepe. Yet thus much hee gets, and will get as much more next day if he can, by one bodys neede, or other. O where bee the bowels of charity, that we can sleepe quietly in our beds, and our poore brother vndone by vs ? Saint *Paul* calts it eating one another. The cry of it reaches vp to heauen, yet will it not reach to our eares. Yea more then this ; men praise our fortune for it ; and wishe it were theirs : and I shall not haue such fortune saith one ; and I shall neuer haue such lucke saith another. A sweete peece of lucke ; when we  
canno



cannot rise so fast, but a hundred of others go down as fast. Haue care of it I beseech you; I giue it you in charge, that ye may not be vnfurnished at the counting day, nor others by your examples.

Now as concerning the things that are bought and solde; we must thinke the principal thing that is to be had for mony, is land. Nothing more worth a mans mony, or more truely valuable, or profitable, then good land. Store of land makes great men. Greatnesse of lands makes kings great. *Terra mater omnium*, The earth is mother, and matter of all things. Whence comes all our sustenance but from crop, and vintage; whence our strength and complexion, but from maid-sweete in greene meddowes, and three leau'd grasse? bagges of mony will not bring foorth a rose; nor heapes of gold make cherries. And where goe we for shade in a parching day, but to the greene wood? where fetch we fire in cold weather, but from the same? whether goe wee to see our hawke flye, or follow our hounds, but to hill, and vale, and stubble field? galleries, and great chambers will not serue our turne. Land fills markets with dainties and necessities. Land furnishes the sea with shipping to carry out, and bring in. Fish is fatte with that comes from land, and the foules of the aire, with all their variety, are homagers to land for all their feature, and food. If a man haue all the riches and Iewels in the world, what are they good for, but to buy land withall? when wee bee dead, wee shall need land, and nothing else but land. *Abraham* was rich of gold, and siluer; but gold, and siluer would not haue buried him, if he had not bought land for it.

Wee reade in Scripture when God would make his people blessed, hee promised them land; knowing nothing so great a blessing in this transitory world, as land. *Pulchritudo agri mecum est* saith he, the beauty of the field is mine to bestow. Land he promised them, and land hee gaue them, to euery one some; as I saide before. What possession is there, that yeelds vs thirty, sixtie, yea an hundred for one but land, by Christs owne words. And therefore I maruell not at *Naboth* in the booke of *Kings*, that hee par-



ted with life rather then his land, though it were to pleasure a King.

And I speake not this, that men should loue land too much, or desire more of it then onely competent. Neither is any thing so good; but we must loose for God, or sell to pay true debts, that euery body may haue their owne. But to set land at naught, or to sell it with losse, and to spend it riotously when we haue done, in play or misrule, without order, or honesty, as many doe now adaies; is there witte, or grace in it? Is gaudy apparrell more worth thy mony, then land? Dice and cards if they were of gold, are they more precious in thy eye then goodly lands? will thy mistress maintaine thee when all is gone; or is the soking vsurer more worthy thy patrimony, then thy fathers child? No. As nothing so worthy price, as land, so let nothing hold vp the price like land, if we will be good to our selues, or to the cōmon, as may be easily demonstrated. To be short, there wil be alawies some that sell. And it is free for all to buy that can; vnlesse it be crowneland; Church-land, or the poores. Thus much for the best possession, which is land.

Now for other things that are bought and solde; I must giue you to vnderstand, that there is in this no smal iniustice & ignorance abroad in the world. The ignorant make scruple where none is, for buying honours, and offices. And the *Couetous* make a tush at Church-lawes, if they prooue against sence and profit. *Symony* they dare not auouch, but to buy and sell aduousons, and right of Patronage, eyther appendant, or in grosse, or to extort pensions or annuities from incumbents, they thinke it no sinne. There bee also that will not buy a benefice; but they will giue well to another, that shall procure it them. To take a gratuity it is lawfull, so it be without pact; but to frowne at the gratuity, if it bee not bigge enough, is no better then *Simony*. To giue money for a spirituall seruice, otherwise then by way of almes to the poore, as for praying, preaching, christning, or such like, it is holden abominable; yet not vnlawfull to giue or take for ones paines, and trauell in such businesse; or to giue yearely stipends for weekly or monethly duties.



duties. For though no spirituall function bee valuable with price; yet ones labour and tye to it is.

Moreouer to with holde our tithe, as it is a sinne well knowne, and to take more then is due, is also very vniust; so doe I hold it very infortunate, and ominous to our estates (if I may so say) to bee niggardly in this duty, or to giue the worst we haue. For God must needes be sparing to vs, and pinching in his blessings, if we be pinching to him, and thinke all too good, that goes that way. And to speake my conscience, although in some sort against my selfe; I know not how two things be warrantable about this businesse, and yet are very common among vs. The one is in paying *Custom*, or composition tithe, when tithe in kinde is worth twenty times more. For though tithe in kind were little more worth when such custome beganne, and the people fewert to bee taught; yet now, the world being risen to a higher rate, more people to be instructed, tenne, or twenty for one; the clergie likewise increased, rents, and profites also raised, and all commodities at the dearest; a poore pastour must haue no more but a noble or tenne groats, as he had then, for that which is worth at this day a great deale more. There is a maxime in lawe, that a custome to pay nothing is a void custome; and what is it then to giue little better then nothing; twelue pence perhaps for an angell, vnlesse our Clergie had the priuiledge to buy all things for their mony at old rates.

The other iniustice is in paying nothing at all; and there be thousands that doe not. Men of trafique, art, and trade, rich, and thriuing, who haue neither corne, or cattle, nor fiue acres land to pay tithe for, if it be a house, it is all. *Abraham* paid it *Melchisedecke* of all hee had, euen of that which fell vnto him by spoile of his enemies. The like wee Heb. 7. reade the Grecians did to their *Painym* gods, as *Thucidi-* Lib. 20. *des* and *Iustine* write of the *Spartans*, *Crotoniates*, and *Locri-* Thucid. lib. 3. *nes*; and *Linie* of *Furius Camillus*, to *Apollo Delphicus* by lib. 5. the light of nature. *Jacob* vowed to God all manner of thing, not of this commodity, or that, but of all he possessed. Not that a man should giue of that which lies by him;



Hom. 43.  
in Cor.  
Ser. 1. de  
domin. 12.  
1. Cor. 3.

but onely of the increase, which comes of mony, or goods imployed in any lawfull negociation. For so saith Saint *Chrysostome*, who freeth not the very trade-man, or artificer, nor Saint *Augustine* the souldier or merchant from this bond of Tithe, if he get any thing by it, though it bee by nothing else, but by buying, and selling. For it is God who giues the increase of both alike, and must therefore haue his part in both alike. The law cannot say what this man, or that man gaines, and therefore leaues it to mens consciences. And they are called priuy-tithes, which many good men haue vsed ere now, and I lay no bond vpon you; but wish you to inquire of them that be learned; that you may not be found vnthankfull when yee shall bee summon'd before your grand benefactour.

Now for temporall offices, I am rather to note the vulgar ignorance, then disswade any thing. When we see great offices bought and solde, which we cannot haue our selues; wee make a nodde at it commonly, and cry *Omnia venalia*, as if they were Church offices. Indeed where Iudges doe sell Iustice, and lye open to bribes, there is *Omnia venalia*. And so if they deny Iustice, or delay Iustice for mony, or if they be partiall, and accept of one person more then another, we may iustly say *Omnia venalia*. But there be two sorts of offices. The one of iudgement, the other of execution. This latter there is no question of, being meere temporall, and of profit certaine, and therefore valuable for mony, as house and land are. And such be all vnder officers of court, or of Iustice, especially if they be for life, or to ones heires. And many of these kinds are sought for, more for countenance and credite, then for fee, or profit. For as *Comines* saith, some haue giuen so for them, that they haue not seene their mony againe in fifteene yeares.

Lib. 1.

Offices of iudgement also are in a sort valuable. For although the Emperour *Seuerus* were very seuer here in, and remooued them from their places when he came; yet it was rather for their deere buying of offices, which made them subiect to bribes, then otherwise. For when a fauourite of his did thinke to preuaile so farre with him



him as to keepe his office still, telling him that it cost him deare; yee therefore thou shalt loose it saide hee. They that buy deare, must sell deare. And hee would allowe him no more but one yeares profit, and away. The learned say it is not onely lawfull for the common-wealth to take money in such cases, but also necessary. Lawfull because they take it not for doing iustice; but for the profits belonging to it, which is the common-wealths to bestow, and which they may take to themselves, if they list. Necessary also for increasing the common treasury, which ought not to bee neglected, where lawfull meanes will affoord it. Yet so notwithstanding, that care bee had of a worthy choise, and moderation bee vsed, that they pay not too much for it; both in regard of their yeares commonly, which will not let them hold it long; and likewise of their charge, that they be not disabled by it, to giue countenance to their place, and to maintaine hospitality. Haply, the summe of two yeares profit will not hurt them; and after that rate tooke King *Henry* the seauenth of England, of the Lord Chiefe Iustice in those dayes, which I heare was fife hundred markes.

Lastly for buying and selling honours, the question is not so much of the iniustice in bestowing, as folly in the seeking. And therefore I will giue it but a touch. Honour was ordained for a reward of merit; and merit is either of act, or fortune. If it bee of act; as for valour, or vertue; honour is due without money by iustice distributue. If merit of fortune, as fauour, birth, riches; it is no new thing to purchase honour or armes, as due to their fortunes, by iustice commutatie. And this is called by *Bartolus* a ciuill honour, being the Princes to bestow, where and when hee will, and vpon what motiue hee will, and for money if hee will, to enable him the better for those that merit in act. Yet so notwithstanding, that the better the motiue is, the more honour to the receiuer. The fault or folly is as I said, to seeke it without merit at all, or to wrong others that are better then themselves. The olde rule is alwaies true, *Malo esse quàm haberi*, and thus much for lesser honours. Of greater honours I say nothing. For as men are more in



view of the *Prince*, whence honour comes ; so better note is taken of their merit. And wee may not doubt but they are well deserued of a prudent *Prince*, wheresoeuer wee finde them to bee bestowed. But I leaue this matter, and goe forward with our dregges of *auarice*, if any thing bee to bee said else.

No doubt there is more to be spoken of, then I meane to trouble you with. *Contracts* for money, stocke, or cattell, let out together, or apart, are infinite. Wherin the learned discouer to vs much corruption, whether with sauing, or loosing the principall ; whether with aduenture, or without, in nature of pawne, or morgage, or absolute, by direct bargaine or condition, or billes of exchange. In these and many other, are many shiftes, and deuises for profit extraordinary, which passe for *currant* daily, yet are vnlawfull, and lyable to restitution. Wherein I doe not particularize, for holding you too long. But wee may know them partly, and shall haue cause to doubt them, and to inquire of them, by the greatnesse of the gaine ; and ignorance will not excuse vs, when it is grosse. And two things make it grosse. One is if it bee like sinne, or extortion for the excessive gaine : as to get a commodity for fine, that is worth tenne ; why should not a man doubt, and aske in this case ? The other is when wee haue ready meanes to informe our selues by those that bee learned, and will not ; but liue close, and worke by our selues. Wee aske our selues whether we bee able to deale with it or no ; wee aske Lawyers for our title, and security. And where should wee seeke for the right, and iustice of it before God, but of Diuines ? whom God calles his *Angell* by the mouth of his Prophet ; and saith, wee must aske his Lawe at their mouth ; *Et legem requirent ex ore eius*. And wee should neuer aduenture vpon any thing that our *Charity* doubts of, without their counsell. Who are as ready at hand for our spirituall good, as others are for our temporall. Yet if it bee so that doctors doubt of the case, yee may practise whether ye will ; though indeede the safest opinion be the best for vs.

If it please you to listen to them seriously, remembring  
alwaies



alwaies what snares hang about you, as thicke as ycesickles in the chill of your *Charity* : belecue me, ye will finde much good of it. They will helpe you in the very game you play at, that yee may not bee vndone by it. But they will not allow you to play away about the twentieth part of your commings in by the yeare. More then this they hold wastfull, or *auaricious*. Not that they know iust when it begins to bee sinne, but by some notable decay it makes in your estate ; and therefore will put a conscience in you to waste no more. If the twentieth part bee spent, there bee but nineteene left. If another part, or t'one halfe bee spent, there is but so much left, and so much weaker yee grow to doe your selues good, or any of yours ; and yee must come to sell land for it, which they will by no meanes allow. They holde it little lesse then damnable to play away such a deale in a night, as many doe ; or to haue other ende of gaming, then for good companies sake, or passing away the time. And if yee intice one to play that hath no skill, or winne of a seruant his masters goods, or of a wife her husbands money, or of a childe that which is his parents, without consent or conniueance : all yee get thus, is none of yours, but must bee restored.

They giue vs a caueat likewise against *Alchumy*, or *chymike* art, for the knowne idlenesse of it, and the apparant hurt to mens estates, that haue followed it, and spent long time in it ; whereof nothing hath come but smoake, and expence, and fruitlesse effects. It is a wonder to tell, what gold and siluer it hath cost, to make *gold* and *siluer*, and how many haue bin consumed by it. Whether it were the charge of workmanship, or cosening in vndertakers, or Gods curse vpon the *auaricious* attempt, especially of late yeares, since common experience hath prooued it idle, and the censure of Diuines hath declared it sinnefull : which of all these is the true fault I know not. But if they bee true professours of it, they come to beggery in the ende : which our prouident pastours would not that wee should fall into. This art hath beene much vsed in the kingdome of *Fez* ; where they were very skilfull both in making the *Elixer*, and multiply-  
Leo. Afer.



ing of mettall. But they turned in the ende to coyning, and lost both their hands for it, by which marke they haue beene commonly knowne.

Two sayings more our learned haue to Lawyers and Attornies, and all their appendants, vnder the degree of Iudges. For of Iudges and Clergy men I can say little, or rather nothing. They are Gods vpon earth. The one may say *Si mei non fuerint dominati*, If I winke not too much at *Ophni*, and *Phinees* in my place; but haue an eye to their abuses, that daily presse the poore subiect, *tunc immaculatus ero*, Then shall I bee vnspotted. The other, if they seeke not their owne, but the good of their flocke, both spiritually and temporally; what can wee aske more? But of Counsellors, and Aduocates it is required; that first, and foremost they take not excessiue fees, nor fee at all, but what they doe somewhat for. In a late Parliament of France, they were limited what to take, and no more: which thing so displeased them, that they gaue ouer their practise three or foure hundred of them at once, and men could haue no lawe for their money, vntill they were brought backe againe with a deuice. It may seeme by *Tacitus* that the Romane Lawyer tooke no fee, vntill hee had wonne the cause. Which made them I thinke more carefull of their matters, and better studied. For their Clyents cause was now become their owne, and they would follow it no doubt, though their Clyent were asleepe. Neither durst they very easily entertaine a bad cause, for feare to haue nothing for their paines. Onley their fault was in taking excessiue, hundreds of poundes for a fee, and sometimes thousands, vntill they were stinted by the Emperour *Claudius*, to take but a hundred markes at the most, or thereabouts.

An vnworthy thing it is that Lawyers should neede Lawes. *Dignus est operarius mercede sua*. If they bee learned, they deserue more, and their desert must bee answerable to their paines. I say no more but this. There be many of knowne conscience, and graue, of whom I would wishe the younger sort to learne *conscience*, as well as Law. But the second fault is the greater in my opinion, and that



is their entertaining, and aduising of bad causes, or causes of small moment. For bad causes, I haue known some learned men that would giue no counsell with vsurers, or bargaines of vnlawfull gaine. Likewise for slight matters, and trifling quarrels, that stood more vpon will, then reason; I haue knowne others, that would not be of counsell with such, nor take their mony by any means. But what the *centumviral* authority was in *Augustus* his time, to visit courts of iustice, and cull out all triuiall actions, and to force men to an end whether they would or no; these haue practised before hand, that they might neuer come so far, as to trouble a court. *Blessed be the peace-makers.* And this belongeth principally to men of law. Mat. 5. So farre be it from them to waite vpon euery mans passion for a little gaine; and to bouldster vp mens idle humors with calumnious billes, and answers, and smothering of lies, more like to sophisters, then men of grauity; and all for what will yee giue mee. Hee that aides the euill in their desires, is *particeps criminis*. Bee hee counseller, or courti-ter, Sheriffe, or sheriffes men, who execute for vsurers, or quarrellous busie-bodies: Your Deuines will tell you, (not I) that they sin as well as the parties, and are bound to restore.

The like may bee saide of executors to vsurers, and to wrong doers. They be subiect to restitution as the testator was, if they exact, or execute in right of his wrong. To you I may speake it; but to them, I doe *surdo canere*. It is in vaine to tell them of it; the world is become *uncapable* of this verity. And of all the multitudes that offend heerein, I can name but one that made conscience of it. For when they die, they leaue all to such as themselves, that will not part with a groat, howsoeuer it were gotten. Yet one I knew, who was executor to such a one, and refused to administer, but for mee. For I asked him whether hee knew what hee did, or no? Or whether hee had not power in him now to right many? Right said he? Who can tell when all will bee righted whom he hath wronged. He is damned, if any bee damned, and I will not meddle with ill gotten goods. The more to blame you, (saide I) you speake not according to knowledge,



„ knowledge. How know you that he is damned, who dyed  
 „ of so good a mind, as to make you executor, that wants  
 „ neither knowledge, nor will to make all euen, that hee hath  
 „ done amisse. And therefore I tolde him, he ought, and must,  
 „ and so he did, and made such a restitution as hath not beene  
 heard of in France.

I may not stand to vnrippe all things. Yet one thing more  
 I may not omitte. The law of escheates is very beneficiall  
 in this kingdome, both to king, and meane Lords, and re-  
 quires in vs much conscience to free vs from iniustice. Our  
 greedinesse after escheates is very sinnefull, especially vpon  
 matters of life, and death. For in wishing the effect, which  
 is *felons goods*, we wish the cause also, which is *felony*, or *treason*.  
 Our pastours tell vs, it is not good for vs to take all we  
 may by law. But as we be Lords, so must wee bee *Chancel-  
 lours*, and haue our eye still at equity, and brotherly com-  
 passion. He that will take all, is bound to keepe wife, and  
 children sometimes more then his owne; or else prouide  
 for them otherwise. For though their meanes be gone, yet  
 they must bee fedde. I speake not of open sinnes in this  
 kinde, as when a man shall pricke into other mens doings, e-  
 uen their owne free-holders, and tennants, for loue of that  
 they haue, and not for iustice. The rule of Saint *Augustine*  
 is, that when we be iudges ouer our brethren, we must con-  
 dole with them. *Congemiscat* saith he, *et ad pariter conandum*  
*se inuitet*, Wee ought to sigh together with them, and to  
 stirre our selues to amendment, by that in them was a-  
 misse.

Much like to these are most informers, and promooters,  
 who liue vpon forfeitures, and spoyle of others. I would  
 haue them know their sinne, and saue their soules. I would  
 haue them bee seruants of iustice, and not of cursed lucre.  
 Their wages is commonly a third part, but they make it  
 more then the whole many times. Worse then these are  
 those who vnder colour of *nullum tempus occurrit regi*, Fall  
 to searching *records* for olde attainders, and sleeping recog-  
 nifances, to intitle the King, or themselves, and to trouble  
 the subiect, so farre forth; as hee knowes not whether hee  
 haue



haue any thing of his owne, or no. But see their conscience. For I speake onely of the abuse. If it be so, that they find for the subiect, they say nothing. The Scripture bids vs disquiet no man, *neminem concutieritis*, Liue not vpon thy brothers spoile. But what saith hē? I will not spare my father, if I can get by it. *Non eris criminator, nec susurro in populo*, Thou shalt not raise a crime, or a whisper among the people. Let them looke to it and inquire whether this bee not meant by them; and whether these bee not the *Publicanes* the Scripture speaketh of, when it ioyneth the *Publican* alwaies, and sinner together. A publican is called a *Publicando*, that is to say of *confiscating*; as we reade in *Daniel*, *Domus vestra publicabuntur*, Your houses shall be confiscate, and these be the instruments of it. Many Princes, when they haue come to their estates, haue laide their first animaduersion vpon such as these, and haue driuen them out of their *Dominions* with many stripes. *Titus* moreouer to the ende there might be no vse of them at all, made these two lawes. One was, because there were many lawes for one thing, therefore if a man had beene sued vpon any one of them, he should neuer be touched for the rest. Another was, that if the *ancestour* were once dead, and a few yeares past, the heire should neuer be charged with old matters.

Luk. 3.

Leuit. 19.

Mar. 2.

Luk. 5. 7. 15

Cap. 2.

Herodian.

Suer in

Tit. Domit

I could inlarge my selfe much further vpon this subiect, if I would open the iniustice of euery *particular* estate. But partly, they may all be reduced to some of these I haue spoken of; and partly are touched in the penall lawes of euery countrey, which are giuen in charge at assises, and sessions, for all men to take notice of, that will liue by a law. And therefore let this suffice to make you see your danger, and the neede yee haue to aduise with some body; and often to aske about your priuate affaires, before your account growe too great, and your clogge too heauie, in the sight of God. And how doe yee know but these may be the secret finnes, which the Prophet teacheth vs to pray that we may be clesed of; yet cleaue so close to our loue, and are so warranted by the practise of the richer sort, that when we should looke at our fault, we

Psal. 50.



looke quite ouer it, and cannot finde it of our selues? *Ignorance* is the mother of sinne. If I haue brought you out of the one, ye may auoide the other with more ease. And thus much in brieft, for our priuate estates.

Now for our *carriage* towards the *common*, wherein a great part of our duty consisteth, and is much-what forgotten, or neglected: I must haue a word or two. Where I cannot forget that noble saying of *Leonidas* King of *Sparta*; that more we owe to our countrey, then to our owne life. As he approoued right well by himselfe, and all his actions. I haue tolde you, what your learned thinke belongeth to a good Christian: now heare what they say becommeth good citizens, or common-wealths men. That is to say such as are good to the common, loue the common, delight in common good, and preferre the same before their priuate, as I will briefly shew you. Yee haue heard what they thinke of life; how little it is to bee regarded in respect of common well-fare. Euen so they tell vs of our goods, and estates, and giue vs one rule in stead of all; which I beseech you to marke whether it be not of God, and most worthy our following. *In all worldly things* (say they) *which we are bound to wish to the common, and to our selues, we are bound to preferre the common before our selues.* They do not say we may prefer; but we are bound, and sinne if we doe not.

Out of this rule come diuers noble conclusions, and fitte for euery man to know. I will remember you of some few in stead of many. I may preferre my selfe before the common to this house, or that manner, because I am not bound to wish these things to the common. I may saue my owne horse from drowning before the kings horse, if other danger insue not, but losse of a horse. It is a common case to defende our right against the King in lawfull sort, and to hedge in our groundes from the *purlieus*, if wee haue right so to doe, though his game haue restraint by it. Otherwise, it is of his house, or palace where hee dwelleth, which I am bound to defend with losse of my owne house in danger of fire. If my storehouse adioyne to the publique *granary*, I must saue this before



before my owne. My single dammage must not weigh with the publike ; I am bound to ruine mine owne house, to stoppe a fire from going further. All statutes and by-lawes made for common good, wee are bound to obserue. And there is a curse due to wilfull breakers, as is to them that digge vp dooles. Some thinke they satisfie with paying the penalty. But lawes were not made for the penalty, but for conformity, that all may draw by a line. Lawes intend not the punishment of a few, but the good of all. And therefore all that bee of one common-wealth, must haue one spirit, and the same the Law-makers had. They ought not to set light by lawes, nor break them as they list, so they bee not spied. Yea more then this, we should rather worke our selues, and bee still deuising for common good, and for them that come after, though wee liue not to see it.

But it is a wonder to see, how *crossse* and *contrary* wee be on this behalfe. As if lawes belonged not to vs, when they bee made ; or if wee keepe them, it is more for feare, then loue of the common. What a flourishing common-wealth should wee now haue, if lawes had beene as duely obserued, as grauely prouided. Or how would it yet flourish, if wee would yet begin, and leaue to bee children in this kind ? Where one makes conscience to keepe a good law, twenty breake it ; and then as good no law. There is none will take benefit sooner then wee, of a high way mended, or a bridge new builded, or repayred. But when wee come to *contribute*, wee drawe backe ; or if they fetch grauell for it out of our grounds, wee resist, and sweare, wee will bee euen with them another time. How far is this from common-wealthsmen, or good men either ? I will approoue it, hee loues not God, that tenders not common good to his power. *Aquinas* saith, (and other Diuines after him) *Impossibile est quòd* Aquinas. 1. 22. q. 92. 1. *homo sit bonus, nisi sit bene proportionatus bono communi*, Hee ad 3. cannot bee a good man, that is not in good proportion to common good. That is to say, that rates not himselfe, and rankes not himselfe for common good, in proportion to his meanes. And our nation hath beene accounted most zealous



in this kinde, though few care now, but for their owne time.

Leo Afer. Wee may learne of *Moore*s and *African* merchants another while; who I heare are so forward for common good, that wee scarce haue the like of them now adaies amongst Christians. Yea who so opposite to God herein, as wee that be Christians?

1 Cor. 9. Saint *Paul* saith, *Omnia omnibus factus sum*, I am become all things to all men. What would hee haue done if he had beene rich? Hee that made himselfe common to all mens seruice, should not his purse haue beene common also to the common good? Christ himselfe was *omnia in omnibus*. And surely he that was so liberall of his blood, that all of vs haue part in it; would hee haue beene sparing of his goods towards vs, if hee had profest to possesse much? would hee haue preferred himselfe before the common, or taken from commons as wee doe, without amends to the poore? Wee are made like to God saith *Leo*, that wee may haue in our selues a patterne how to imitate him; yet see how different wee bee from God heerein, who was all for euery body, and wee nothing for any body, but our selues. The very Sunne (I thinke) that shines to all, we would ingrosse to our selues if we could, and make rent of it. How doe we imitate Christ in this? and yet wee doe in this, as we doe in all. We make our selues strangers to his Lawe in all things. Wee carry his imitation in our hands to reade of; but wee haue it not in our hearts to make vse of. Verily, if it were no more, but for imitating of God, and of Gods knowne seruants; and though ability were not great in vs, yet our good will wee should shew in this duty, and our inclining that way in what wee can. The common-wealth should not bee so ready to aske of vs, as wee ready to giue. Common-good not so ready to require our seruice, as wee ready to proffer, and performe, and glad that wee may stead it in any sort. And this hath beene the practise of our fore-fathers, and ancestours, that haue gone before vs, as by the publike workes they haue left behind them, and our Chronicles are full of, and euery towneship can giue testimony, it may appeare.

And this if wee cannot doe after the best imitation; yet  
me



me thinke we should doe it for our honor, and reputation, as Saint *Augustine* tels the *Romanes* did. *Privatas res suas pro re communi, hoc est pro repub. & pro eius arario contemserunt,* Lib. 5. de ciu. cap. 15. They despised their owne for the publike good, and common treasury. And all their industry was, (if they were good) *ut ararium esset opulentum, tenues res privatae,* That their treasury might be rich, though their priuate were poore enough. And with this agrees *Salustius in catelinario*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus* in his fourteenth booke.

And the contrary of this, was base, and odious in those daies; especially in great persons; who should bee others examples, as that one instance may serue instead of many. Where *Valerius Ruffinus* was put from the senate by the Censour *Fabritius*, for buying eight score ounces of plate to his priuate vse. And thus it held (saith Saint *Augustine*) vntill corruption came in, and brought in with it the contrary, *publice egestatem, priuatim opulentiam,* Weakenesse of common treasury, and greatnesse of priuate estates. Aug. lib 5. de ciuit. dei. cap. 12. Heere began forgetfulnesse of God, and of his blessed imitation; forgetfulnesse of honour, and of all good order; which will not haue the head to stand at curtesie of the hand or foote; or the common to bee at the mercy of the priuate, vpon euery neede or occasion: but rather the contrary, as they that will reade, and marke, shall see; that the richer the common was, the richer were euer the commons; vnlesse it were vnder *Tyrants*; and the richer that *Princes* were out of their prouidence, without cause of exacting, the richer were the subiects, or at the least, lesse wanting.

It is for euery ones good that the common good thriue; and for this good, wee bee all borne officers. No reasonable creature is exempted from this bond. His sword in time of warre, his purse, or other abilitie in time of peace. The poorest can haue no excuse, as farre as in them doth lye; much lesse they that be of meanes. Who although they be not so wholly for the common, neither is it required as the *Romanes* were: yet most pittifull it is, if not sinnefull, how hardly any thing comes from them, either for towne charge at home, or for the Church, or King. Touching all which



as it were our part to bee so forward of our selues, as wee should neede no rating : so they that be learned holde, that when it comes to rating, wee may not hide our estates to lessen our charge, or to lay the more vpon others ; which is a common sinne amongst vs. And when it comes to paying, it is done so vnwillingly , and vnreadily , as if they had mighty wrong in it. I knew a merchant of late, whose ability was inferiour to none, his good will was lesse then most mens. I haue heard officers complaine of him , how much they had to doe , and how often they haue attended him for a marke charge, and could neuer get it of him, till they were ready to distraine a fatte ox for it, and then hee turned to his man, and bid him pay the knaues.

It is a shame to tell what shifts we make to put of taxes, and subsidies when they come, bee they neuer so needfull. Diuines tell vs two things about them. One is on the subjects part, a readinesse to performe. The other on the Taxers part, that it bee not out of couetousnesse, but of neede. And if of neede, yet it must bee regarded ; that the burthen light not vpon the poorer sort, as the taxe of salt did, which *Philip de Valoys* imposed, making euery man pay as much as the rich. Or to lay tribute vpon country necessities, which wee cannot bee without, or vpon seruants wages, or labourers earnings and such like. And if a taxe be doubtfull, whether it bee iust or no, or not certaine, wee are bound to pay it, and the publike is to bee preferred (some say) though other say no ; that *melior est conditio possidentis*, as it is in other cases of doubt, betweene party and party. But my purpose is not to trouble you with doubts, and questions. Listen I beseech you to knowne truths, which learned men of the best, doe all agree vpon, and will resolue you in.

And because wee speake of publike estates, and priuate ; it is to bee deduced out of the grounds aforesaid, that both common and priuate, are to attend their Soueraignes estate ; beeing a thing the whole good of a kingdome dependeth on, as much as may bee. And therefore where they holde it dangerous to our soules, to haue much lying by vs, as I will shewe you anon : Yet otherwise in kings, to bee rich and wel



well stor'd with treasure, it is both honourable and necessary, & they can hardly haue too much. They must *multa possidere*, that must *multa impendere*, as one aduised *Cōstantine*. So manifold be the charges that presse them daily, so infinite the pipes, that sucke still, and drawe from their cesterne, to make it dry : especially in this age, and these times, when all things are at the highest ; and the wisest that are, and that liue most prouidently haue somewhat to doe to keepe out of debt. Kings much more in their *Chaos* of occasions, which the subiect neuer feeles, nor thinkes of, vntill the Soueraigne bee in debt, and their aide bee required for contribution.

Nauar.  
Pona. Let

It hath beene an old prayer amongst vs ; that wee may liue out of debt, and deadly sinne. But a vaine prayer, if our selues put not to it our helping hand, and the best indeauour wee can. Wee are bound to pray it for our selues, wee are bound to pray it for the common. And particularly for the head of the common. For soule businesse as I saide before, wee must preferre our selues before all men. And therefore my rule was, in all temporall good, wee must preferre the common. Peace and prosperity which are temporall blessings, wee must wish to the common, before ourselues. *Pouertie*, and debt are temporall euills in all; but in Princes most intolerable. And therefore a kings estate heerein must bee preferred before our owne, whensoever it happens. There, must euery mans hand, and heart worke together ; there must duty, and loue contend which shall out-strippe the other; there must we apply our wittes, their our abilities, euen for Gods loue, if wee owed our Prince none. How much more if he bee mild, and clement, and one according to our harts, good to all, hurtfull to none. And in so doing, wee doe good to ourselues; the King of heauen will reward vs, though kings of earth neuer heare of our names.

And I speake it the rather to informe your consciences against this eating euill of the west. For it is hardly matched all ouer the world besides. That which heathen princes compell, and commaund, we haue much a doe to be in-



treated. That which out of Christian knowledge wee are bound to offer, we make difficultie to be drawne to. That which our tenants doe for vs most readily, though it cost them their best cove in their yard, to vphold their Landlord at a neede; we thinke much to do to him, that is Landlord to vs all. We should teach heathens obedience, and they teach vs. It is absurd to see how we bee haled to common good. We were yesterday rich, and made our brags. To day when we come to be assest, we are poore, and make beleue we haue nothing, or not a foote of free-hold; as one of the richest subiects in our nation I heard say once, when he was charged with a couple of launces.

lib. 2.

O how sparing would such men bee of their bodies and blood (saith *Boccace*) if their country should need it, that are so neere themselves in their worldly pelfe. They stretch themselves farre to bestowe their daughters magnificently, rather then ciuilly, and to furnish a bride chamber for a Prince, rather then for a priuate body. They spare for no cost to set out themselves with fattens and filkes, their wiues with bracelets, and borders of gold, and pearle. Their horse with trapping, and furniture of the best. Their hawkes, and hounds shall want no cost of keeping, and manning, yet can they finde nothing for the common. Fooles, that we are, what will become of vs if the common weale be in shipwracke? What will great kindred auaille, if the common-wealth faile? How will peace bee maintained, wrongs righted, or priuate good secured? Who will there be to giue vs iustice, *Quis dabit iura, si publicum cessabit subsidium*; Take away common aide and subsidie, and take away all owner-shippe from all men. Thus farre he, and more to like effect. It is absolutely against duty, and policy, to doe as we doe, and God will plague vs for both at once. That it is against duty, I haue tolde you already, and if ye will aske your learned, they will tell you much better, *regem honorificate*. What honour is it wee doe him, or our selues, to deny him publique aide, or to shrink in our heades, or to make such beggarly suites as we doe, to be discharged?

E. Pet. 2.



It is also against policy ; for wee must allow them to bee Kings, and full of *Prerogative*. Both Gods law, and mans law giues it them. They are *patriæ parentes* , and what the childe is bound vnto towards his parents, we are bound as much to our Princes, and they say more. And therefore if we forget our selues towards them, when occasions bring them behinde hand, and they are loth to vrge our vnwillig- nesse : can we blame them, if they doe what they can out of their *prerogative* Royall, to helpe themselves ? In places where Kings haue no lands , yet they liue like Kings , by their prerogatiue: and if they haue lands also, yet they loose no prerogatiue though they vse it not alwayes , but at a neede. And moreouer, if subiects bee vnkinde , they spoile their Princes, and will make them doe many things , that they may, and would not; take all forfeitures and escheates, close their hands to all pardons and immunities, inclose forests, and chases , and all their wastes to themselves , giue eare to all informers , and promooters, that shall any way intitle them, and that which is worst they will make them sell and alienate the reuenues of the crowne: which is so vnfitting a thing to a kings estate, that subiects ought to take notice of it, and make meanes rather for his releefe. Much lesse ought they to robbe kings , and pull from kings; especially if they bee officers in any sort. It is next to sacrilege, and robbing of Churches, to supplant a King. A kings officer had neede to be one of his ioynts, if it might be. For nothing so consolidates the greatnesse of a king, as trustie , and true officers; and nothing sooner sinks the same, then to bore holes in his ship. Remember I forewarne you , if yee chance to beare office.

If a king be poore and vnable, can the subiect be secure ? Is he not a prey to his enemies, and we with him ? Or doe we not know by our selues, and our owne debts, how immense will his be quickly, if they be not quit betimes ? Hee that sees a king in debt, sees but halfe a king, to that he is , and would be if he were free. His bounty is stopt, his rewards stopt, and much grace stopt, that would flowe like baulme from him towards his subiect ; and many a good thing vn-



performed by him, that would helpe and enrich many. If a king be in plenty, all the care hee hath, is, that his subiect may haue also plentie. But if otherwise, all his care will bee for himselfe, and all the good a king can doe is hindred, or rather buried before it be hatcht. I cannot speake too much of the sores that doe ensue the indebted estate of kings. Our flourishing France had a costly tryall of it once or twise in my memory, and was in great hazzard by it, if timely ayde had not come. Her head-ach made her cry heartily, *caput meum doleo, caput meum doleo*; and if God had not helped her when time was, she could not haue beene raised againe without miracle.

4. Reg. 4.

Two great faults I note in the subiect about this affaire. One is an vnworthy tergiuersation, or backwardnesse in him towards the common good, with a base conceit he hath, that all is too much that goes that way, neuer reflecting vpon his duty to God, and his countrey, nor to the ease of those that bee not so well able as hee. Hee will lay all vpon his tenants if hee can, and haue all his rents come in cleare to him. And the richer they be, the further off most of them, as may bee seene by their carriage. The other fault is delay; where if that were done at the first, which must be done at the last, when it is growne double and trebble with lingering; it would haue beene much better; where now it is scarcely seene. Interest increaseth, and new charges grow, before the olde bee discharged; and by that time one subsidie bee paide in, two more will not suffice. Which punishes also the subiect more, then had hee drawne his purse wide, and cleared all at the first. And therefore I commend them of *Utica*, when *Julius Caesar* came, and imposed a great matter vpon them, to bee paide at fixe payments in three yeares; they made him answer out of their loue, or height of minde, that they would pay all downe, and so they did the same day. I thinke three hundred persons paide all.

Nauch.

Once well done, is twice done. But as matters be handled, tenne times done is scarce once done. Before the king should sell land, or diminish his estate; who would not make the hundreth



hundreth part of his meanes, and giue it him downe, rather then make an euery yeares charge of it, as wee doe, and the king not much the better by it? And this would quit a million or two suddainely for once in a kings life time, and doe no man hurt. And how much better this, to giue part rather then all, or halfe, or a third part of ones Rents, as they did to *Ladislaus* king of *Boheme*, and *Hungary*; and as in extremity we are bound, though God defend it should bee needed. But I haue read of the like in other countries; namely once in Rome, vnder the Consuls, *Leuius* and *Marcellus*, when there was not a man from the highest to the lowest, who brought not into the treasury all his golde and siluer hee had; and left themselues little else, but what they wore on therr belts and buckles, and rings on their fingers. An other time, they of *Marseilles* did the like vnasked, to aide the Romanes at a need, and left not themselues a peece of golde, either in publike, or priuate.

Livie. 26.

Florus.

Iust. 43.

Neither is it fit for vs to iudge the State at our pleasure, when matter of burthen is propounded, our *Soueraigne* being wise, and bearing conscience towards vs. They sitte neere the Sunne, and know what must bee, better then wee. They are wise, and more experienced then wee, and their part is in the burthen, as well as ours. It belongs to vs to listen willingly, and performe gladly. *Hilarem datorem diligit deus*, God loues a cheerefull giuer, and blesses him no doubt accordingly. And the reason why our ancestours thrived better then wee, and liued more plentifully, Saint *Augustine* imputeth to this, *Quia deo decimas, regi censum dabant*, Because tithes they paid to God, and tribute to the king. Others pay also at this day, but they doe it not willingly, and God regards more what the heart doth, then what the hand doth.

Hom. 48. de Sanctis.

And therefore whosoever bee Iustices, or Assessours on the bench; our loue and conscience must bee of the *quorum*. Let mutiny and turbulency finde no place with ingenuous spirits. Christ himselfe made meanes to contribute to superiours for our example, hauing himselfe neither lands, nor goods. And so would wee, if we had but loue in vs. A dead



horse is no horse; no more is dead loue any loue. And where should wee shewe it more, then to our Prince, in whom all causes of loue concur together most commonly? Some weare their kings in their hat, some in a iewell about their necke, and wee set vp his picture in our eye where we eate, and drinke; we praise him, and set out his vertues, and run out to see him, and bidde God saue him, as if wee had neuer seene him before. Wee pray for him in priuate, and publicke; and hee is all our glory till wee come to part with any thing; and then the king knowes not m<sup>e</sup> say they; I shall neuer haue thanks of him, I haue children and charge, the king had more neede giue mee. Some say it, some thinke it, and wee see not who lookes on the whilest. Euen he that iudgeth both subiect, and Soueraigne, and will not suffer his annointed vnreuenged of any indignity. But I will goe forward.

I come now to your *Superfluum*. I spake of. A thing that is not ill in it selfe, if men doe not loue it too much, and seeke it not so eagerly as they doe. I will tell you in a word what your Pastours thinke of it, and then conclude. The scripture bids you; *If ye haue much, giue much. Abundanter tribue.* If yee haue little, giue little, but let it bee *volenter*, willingly. Christ saith, we shall be damned for not doing some things. Which all the fathers vnderstand to be the workes of *mercy*, both spirituall, and temporall. The spirituall are comprehended in these verses.

Tobit 4.

Mat. 23.

*Aduize, reprove, good comfort giue,  
Beare with him, pray for him, and forgive.*

All which fixe, as well temporall persons, as spirituall, are bound to doe; especially the second, which is brotherly correction. No man may forbear to admonish his neighbour of his offence, if yee bee not more likely to doe hurt by it, or bee likely enough to doe him good, and no body else will.

Which rule alone I must tell you, when I well considered; it made mee the bolder to aduenture on this daies charge,



charge, though better becomming other manner of persons then my selfe, if they were at hand. But beeing so that my happe aboue others hath beene heere to speake about such businesse; although I haue no cause to admonish, or touch in particular any one for the enormities aforesaide; yet by the way of præmonition I giue a brotherly warning to all, (as by this rule I thinke my selfe bound) that they fall not into the same. For according to this rule I finde it written in another place, *unicuiq; mandauit Deus de proximo suo*, eue- Eccl. 17.  
ry man hath charge in charity ouer his neighbour. That is to say, either by preuenting euill before it come, as I doe now; or by correcting euill if it bee past, which I haue no cause in any of you. And this I holde to bee the chiefe, or onely spirituall worke, that all persons alike are bound vnto. But as for temporall workes which was the other part of my diuision, wee are bound to more. And therefore for our better memory, they are put into verse thus.

*Feede, visit sicke, redeeme out of thrall,  
cloath, harbour harbourlesse, giue buriall.*

All set downe by our Sauour himselfe, but the last, which is buriall: and all these or most of them wee must doe vpon paine of hell fire. *Ite in ignem eternum* saith hee, Goe yee into euerlasting fire. For yee visited me not, ye cloathed me not, &c. Mat. 25.

Of spirituall workes more then I haue said, I say nothing; they belong to Diuines and Preachers; who are the best instruments with learning, and spirit, to mannage our soules. Of corporall workes also I haue not much to say, more then of the instrument and meanes for them, which is *gold* and *siluer*; and which we either haue, or lay for more then they, and therefore are bound to doe them more then they. For there is not a corporall worke except that of visiting, but requireth some charge, and outward ability. Euery body cannot redeeme prisoners; yea who make prisoners but rich folke. An hundred dye in a yeare sometimes out of one prison, as many ready to starue without shirt to their backe, or



bread to-eate. Many are ashamed to begge, or to complaine and bring in their winding sheet when they come in, vnable to buy necessities, and much lesse to pay debts. But this is their manner of redeeming prisoners, to lay them faster if they can, or to abridge them any comfort, that a prison may affoord. Let rich men and prison-keepers take heede of this, if euer they looke to prosper with that they haue. For if any should perish thus through their wilfullnesse, it is murther before God; and if they want maintenance, they are bound by this precept to maintaine them. The rich men (I say) for deteining the vnable, if they think them so. Prison keepers for looking no better to their hospitalls; for euery Iaile is an hospitall, as well as a prison. And if begging will not serue, they must finde them bread, and drinke at least, or giue vp their office.

God will charge vs one day, that wee did not some of these things, which wee were able to doe, and had good meanes for. *Unicuique mandauit Deus*, as I said before. And [*mandauit*] implies a duty. It is not as we will, but wee are bound to it; as it appeares by the penaltie which is laid vpon it. Else why should wee be damned for not doing, if we were not bound to performe? I would haue you to vnderstand these matters rightly, beeing the maine point of my this daies charge, which I haue, and am to deliuer you. Ye haue one notable errour amongst you, that if yee haue hundreds, or thousands lying by you, you thinke all is your owne, that is left at the yeares ende; and if the world doe follow you a little, yee thinke God loues you streight, and ye beginne to follow it. Then comes in hourding, and heaping, and loathnesse to depart with it. And this, because it is not vsury, or theeuery, and we come well by it; wee thinke it all our owne, when it is not. Remember that saying. *Qui festinat ditari, non erit innocens*, Hee that hasteneth to bee rich, can hardly bee innocent. For eyther hee comes not well by it as hee should, or vseth it not well when hee hath it, or thinkes all to bee his owne, and forgettes his Stewardship.

Prou. 28.

We thinke all to bee our owne I say, and so it is against  
all



all men but God, and the poore. If the poore want, it is none of ours. Howbeit, such be the times, and so far be we growne from the true conceipt of this duty, that wee commonly make but a tush at it. They knew it better in the *primitiue Church*, then now we doe; as appeared by the voluntary contributions, and often gatherings for the afflicted, and them that wanted. They were called *Collectæ*, and were paid most readily without long asking. But afterward as deuotion grew slacke, Bishops were driuen to send out their warrants to compell them to charity. And in these latter times, there be temporall lawes to inforce vs to so needfull a worke. Wee are driuen to pay by the acre, and yet it comes full hardly from vs for want of true knowledge of our bond on this behalfe. Which necessary knowledge, euen so necessary as any can be, I would resuscitate as it were, and raise againe in our soules, and spirits, that wee may not perish for want of this loue, and pious affection. Which God himselfe not counselleth but commandeth, not requirereth but exacteth, not aduiseeth but strictly chargeth vs, that it doe not decay in vs, but bee alwayes burning.

Saint *Iohn* saith there is no loue in vs, if we haue the substance of the world, and will see our brother want. Beholde heere a flat iudgement against vs, and yet wee thinke our selues secure hauing store by vs, and will not part with it. We can helpe, and will not, wee haue the substance of the world, and yet wee will see him want. Yee haue heard already, that whatsoever our profession be, wee must not be ashamed of the Gospell; our *Glory* must be in Gods holy word. We are biddē to loue one another. Saint *Iohn* the diuine of diuines saith plainly, *Wee loue not*, if wee haue the substance, and powre it not forth. And what followes then but losse of our soules. It is not I that giues the censure, but the written word giues it, and it will not be auoided. If wee keepe our substance to our selues, we loue not, if we loue not we shall not liue. And this S. *Iohn* himselfe saith, he writes vnto them, to the ende they may not sin. What *glory* now in your *superfluum*? what glory in your abundance? what glory in your substance, if it be provided you to damne you?



Let vs come now to our deuines, and best expositers. And see whether they will helpe vs? No. They sing all one song. The word of God is eternall, sooths no man, is subiect to no mutation. It was so in the beginning, and must be so to the ending. They tell vs first out of the *prophecy of Scripture*, that the poore *we shall haue alwayes with vs*. And there be reasons for it, besides *authority*. The first reason is naturall. For the poore come neere the nature, and fashion of the first age, when all were in equality, all cladde alike, all in like businesse of husbandry, and bodily labour, without distinction of nobility and popularity, riches and pouerty, as was most *congruent* to the law of nature; and so haue continued from age to age to this very day, the truest patterne of our primitiue estate, or golden world. And therefore we may not contemne them, or thinke their estate shamefull.

Mat. 25. For it is no shame to be poore (said *Pericles*) but to be idle, and doe nothing whereby to liue.

Thucid. 2.

An other reason is the corrupt nature of man, who strives to drawe all to him, and would leaue his fellowes little, if he could. Like them that play at dice, where one gettes all with his fortune or fallshood, and leaues the rest penniless. A third reason is morall, or politicall. For the poore are profitable, and were it not for them, wee should doe our worke our selues. Also many of these be weake, lame, blind, aged, or sickely, and cannot worke. A fourth reason is supernaturall. For if there were no poore, there would not be such matter of charity, or such store of it, as there is dayly amongst vs. And charity is one of the Theologicall vertues commended to vs often in Scriptures, and without which we know not whether we loue God or no. For it is a notable signe that we loue God, when we loue the poore for God.

In which respect, not to deny the poore also their due commendation, and to acknowledge the good wee receiue by their meanes; there needs no other testimony of it, then the promised blessings belonging thereunto, out of holy writ. *Beatus homo*, Blessed is he, that looks vpon the poore, and needy; God will deliuer him in the euill day. God will keepe him from his enemies, and will help him, at his houre

Psal. 40.

of



of death. These be high benefits. And in another place, *Qui diuidunt propria ditiores fient.* Loe here a temporall blessing also. They that distribute of their owne, shall be richer by it. And in another place; he that giues to the poore, shall neuer want. Besides this, which is greatly for the glory of pover-ty, God makes himselfe free of their company when hee names himselfe among little ones, saying; what yee haue done to these little ones, ye haue done to me. And what yee haue nôt done to these little ones (whom hee called needie before) ye haue not done to me.

Pro. 11.

Prou. 28.

Mat. 25.

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Verily, the poore in some sort may bee compared to a Merchants ship, that is kept most part vnder water. And the more ye put into it at your launching, the more profite yee make at your landing. They are like a fatte soyle about a citty, called in the scripture, *soyle* and *manure*, the more *siluer* yee sowe in it, the thicker it comes vp againe. *They that sowe in blessings, shall reape in blessings.* The Prophet *Esay* compareth pouerty to a furnace of fire, because it dryes vp the marrow of a man with care, and thought, and scorches the very intrailles of him with extremity of want: this fire also, the more meate yee hang on, or lay downe before it, the better ye shall fare, when ye come to sit.

Psal. 112.

2. Cor. 9.

Esay 48.

I say nothing heere of the good of poore mens prayers; which God is inclined to heare in all our businesse. *Non spreuit; neque despexit deprecationem pauperis,* God despises not the poore bodies prayer. *Oculi eius in pauperem respiciunt,* his eyes are fastened on the poore. Yea as the poore doe liue by the rich, or should doe; so the rich doe liue by the poore, or may doe; that is to say, by their good prayers. For the rich giue earthly foode out of their abundance: and the poore giue heauenly foode out of Gods ordinance; who hath made them our entertainers in his kingdome (as silly as they seeme heere) to receiue vs, and welcome vs to those heauenly tabernacles, when wee come there. Neither doe I speake what wee loose by them, if wee neglect them. For *qui despicit deprecantem, sustinebit penuriam,* Hee that despiseth him that askes of him, what is his reward? hee shall come to be poore himselfe, he, or his in the end. Which

Psal. 21 &

101.

Psal. 10.

Luk 16.

Prou. 28.



I wishe with all my heart that euery good body would take heede of, before they come to make prooffe of. The poore we shall alwaies haue with vs. And this is our first ground.

An other ground is, that this want of theirs must be supplied out of our *Superfluum*. For it is written *quod superest date*, Giue of that which remaines to you ouer and aboue your necessities. So, *qui duas habet tunicas det non habenti*, If you haue two coates, giue to him that hath not. *Et qui habet escas similiter*, Doe the like by your meate, giue of that you haue to spare. And this is not a counsell, but a precept, as may appeare by S. *John Baptist* in the same place. Where if wee doe not these things, hee compares vs to a tree, that beares no fruit, and must therefore be cut down, and throwne into the fire. And which to preuent, he that hath two coates (saith he) let him giue one. And for this cause Saint *Augustine* tels vs plainly. *Res alienæ possidentur cum superflua retinentur*, All that we haue more then enough, he saith directly is none of ours. He chargeth vs in a manner with stealth, and theft, if wee keepe our ouerplus from the poore. So Saint *Chrysostome*, and Saint *Hierome* interpret the words God, and Mammon. Wee may not serue God and goods gathering (say they) more then wee neede. And pretence of neede will not serue. To the houlder also it was said, this night shall thy soule be taken from thee, *quia sibi thesaurisauit non deo*, because he heaped for himselfe, and not for God; that is to say, not for the poore.

And yet in this, your pastours fauour you in what they may; and doe not tie you to the supplie of euery need, that *occurres*. For they distinguish of time, person, and place. In time of *Scarcity*, and dearth, more care is required, then when there is more plenty. For person and place, *our country man* must be preferred before a stranger, our kinsman before an other not of kinne, our owne parish before an other parish, and this by law of neighbourhood, and vicinitie. And in all these, regard must bee had of them that bee of Gods houldes, or houldes of faith, before them that bee without, by Saint *Pauls* own rule. Lastly they distinguish of

*Superfluum*

Luc. 11.  
Vers. 40.  
Luk. 3.  
ibidem.

in Psal. 47.

Luk. 12.  
vers. 20.

Gal. 6.



*Superfluum*, as they did before of necessaries. For as there bee necessaries of nature, for keeping one aliue onely, with broken meate and patcht cloathes; and necessaries of estate, which are cloathes, and dwelling conuenient : so bee there also superfluous of nature, when a man hath more then will suffice nature ; and superfluous of estate, and person, when hee hath more then hee hath present neede of for his estate, and person.

A poore man for example hath meate, and torne cloathes about him, but not to keepe him sweete, and wholesome; here is nature serued, but no *conueniency*. An other hath *conuenient* cloathing and abode, but wantes worke, or meanes to set vp trade ; heere is another necessity supplied, but not the third, for he must not liue idly. The first is most what supplied at euery mans dore out of their *Superfluum* of nature. And if they cannot supply it otherwise, they must make *Superfluum*, and eate lesse, rather then a poore creature should starue at his dore. The second is a great necessity also, and must bee supplied out of some little *Superfluum* of our estate ; and some haue giuen their cloakes off their backes at such a neede, and haue beene greatly blest for it. The third which are ordinary necessities, they holde we are not bound to supply, vnlesse wee haue some store of *Superfluum*. So as if wee haue more then enough for our selues, wee are bound to supply those ordinary necessities in them, whom wee see, or heare doe neede. *Idcirco te voluit abundare Deus* (saith Leo) *ut per te alius non egeat.*

This is the doctrine which your learned vpon very good grounds doe holde, and teach. And when they speake thus of *Superfluum*, or ouerplus, their meaning is of that onely which we possesse ouer and aboue that which is needefull to our most decent estate we liue in. All that, they say we cannot call ours; and it must not bee retained, but it must bee employed in some good and pyous vses, or to supply the ordinary wants of others. Neither doth this bond of ours arise they say, out of the necessity of the poore onely, as in almes it doth, where the neede is extreame ; but out of the very nature of *Superfluum*, and Iustice distributiu; whereof 2 2 x. q. 3 2.



By this onely title wee become dispensers, because it is more then we neede our selues. And so much Saint *Augustine* insinuateth vnto vs, both by the place aforesaid ; and also in another place, saying: *tibi superflua, domino necessaria*. As who should say because thou needest them not thy selfe, they are God almighties, who hath infinite vse of them in his members. Many a younger brother borne to little or nothing, would bee thy champion, or beadsman, for a little of that which thou couldest spare. Many a poore gentleman decayed by losse, or misfortune, would hold vp his hands day and night for thee. Some ruinated house might rise againe by thee, and giue thee the stile of her founder, and rayser. Much euill is in the world, and many badde courses attend good natures through onely want ; which a cast of thy pittifull eye might easily helpe to thy eternall comfort. And if any of these workes bee too great for vs, hee will not aske so much of vs, but onely in proportion to our abundance ; and by no other title, but of our abundance.

And it standeth greatly with naturall reason, if we marke it. For as the waters of *Nilus* doe ouerflowe, and diuide themselues once or twice a yeere vnto all the vallies, and meddowes thereabouts, to make them fruitfull out of their abundance ; euen so it is where *superfluum* is, and where plenty ouerflowes the bankes of our owne neede, it is made for the leuelling, and making vp of lowe places ; and poore mens wants either publike or priuate, are but channels, and trenches to direct it, and leade it where it should goe. And no doubt, but if God out of his Lordly power ouer vs, should but vse the ministry of an Angell about this so needfull a leuell ; his iustice would fetch it out againe, as fast as we hold it, that euery man and woman might haue enough, and yet the owner neuer want it.

God did the like once, as we reade in *Exodus*, and it had  
 Exod. 16. 18 beene our case right, if *Manna* there had beene money, and  
 and not meate. For he that gathered most of that *Manna*,  
 had vse of no more, then he that gathered least ; and he that  
 gathered least, had as much as he. Wherein God shewed vs  
 then, in a figure, what hee would now haue vs to doe with



our money. He shewed it vs then indeede by miracle. But this miracle in the old law, Saint *Paul* would haue vs supply by *conscience* in the new law, to make this equalitie between rich, and poore, as I touched in the beginning. The thing which he requires of vs, is this, and no more; *voluntas prompta secundum id quod habet*, *A readie will* (saith he) according to that we haue. This is the *conscience* he requires of vs, and commands. And as it was with them that gathered *Manna*, He that had most, had not *Superfluum*, and he that had least; wanted not, *Qui multum habuit non abundauit, & qui modicum, non minorauit* this is Saint *Paul*'s owne allusion: *ibid.* euen so it must be with vs. Our will is the miracle must do it, to make a leuell betweene the poore, and vs. Our readie will is it that must deuide it. Our compassionate heart must be Gods Angel heere, to distribute it, before it come to rust.

For as Saint *Basill* and S. *Ambrose* say very well; If they that abound, were not bound, to bestow it againe vpon them that are needie, and poore; God were vniust in his diuision of things amongst vs, to giue some more then ynough, and to some nothing, or lesse then ynough, when all had ynough in the beginning, and none had more then other, but all was common. And of this minde I verily think, there is not a couetous man in the world but would be of, if he came to taste once what pouertie is; whereupon the learned argue thus: No man can say that God is vniust; therefore no man can say, that this is his owne, if it be more then ynough. Not that any man can take it from him perforce; for that were villanie, and theft; but that the owners are bound to dispence it, or dispose it, where there is neede.

Ser. ad diuites auaros.

Ser. 81.

Aquin. q. 66 art. 7.

Farre be it from God to be vniust. For though he giue too much one way, yet he makes it euen an other way; Like to a tender father, who leaues all he hath to the eldest, with charge notwithstanding, that he be a father to the rest, and that his brothers, and sisters want not: who notwithstanding, if they chance to want, and the eldest forget himselfe; yet the father did his part, and woe be to the elder. Euen thus it fareth with euery rich man. I see no difference. *God*



giues a purse in his hand, and a precept in his heart with it, I was naked, I was hungry, I was harbourlesse, or friendlesse, and in a word, I was poore, and *comfortlesse*, and yee looked not at me. These be his yonger brothers, that must not want by him. And therefore looke what wee swell by Gods gift, wee come downe againe by his law. How much the gift raiseth vs, the law curbeth vs. And many a worthy body in the world, hath beene most glad to bee ridde of the one, that hee might bee eased of the other. Like honest receiuers, and collectours for the king; who to quit themselves of care, and cumber, haue been content to loose their fees, and to resigne to others. Now what could God doe more for this *equalitie* but make a law? what can Princes and policie doe, but innact, and command. And if men will not obserue, whose fault is it? God giues not mans Law, but conscience-Law, the greatest binder that is. And we reade it euery day in our poore brothers and sisters forehead, that we may not forget it. And therefore if we will not do it, at our perill be it.

True it is, this law hath beene better knowne to our consciences then now it is, and yee should seldome haue heard of coffers, and bagges full, when one was dead. And good people would haue lamented, and wept ouer them that dyed so, as we are wont to doe ouer them, that kill themselves. Hence come so many *vas* from godly people against rich folke, and houlders, that scrape, and rend, and are pittilesse. Hence groanes, and plaints of many a *pious person* for there friends, and kinsfolke, that leaue no better comfort behind them, then such a damnable signe. And therefore Saint James giues vs warning of it aforehand. *Agite nunc diuites plorate ululantes; Now weepe o yee rich folke,* and howle in your myseries, which yee cannot auoyd. Yee heape anger against your selues in the latter day. And he telles vs the cause of this anger; which is keeping of *Superfluum* by vs. For thus hee concludes his inuectiue. *The ruste of your golde, and siluer shall bee witnesse against you,* saith hee. And how comes this rust, but of long lying by vs? Behold heere an other Iudgement against houlding. Yee hard an other euen now out of Saint Iohn.

Iac. 5.

Ibid. v. 3.



A third iudgement may bee deduced out of Saint *Paul*; where he calleth it Idolatry to be a houlder. His words are *avarus, quod est idolorum seruitus*. And I call this word *avarus* in this place an houlder in english, because it is meant by houlders, and Scripture hath no proper word for houlding but *avaritia*. Theft which is a kind of couetousnesse is called *furtum*. Usurers are properly called *Fenratores*; extortioners are heere called *Rapaces*. Euery one of these hath his proper name but houlding; which is heere therefore called by the generall name *avarus*, for want of another word. And to this interpretation *S. Pauls* comparison leades vs very fitly, when hee cals it Idolatry. For an Idoll is set vp and stirres not, no more does their mony. An idoll is commonly made of mettall, so is there mony of golde, and siluer. The keeping and holding of it is called heere Idolatry in respect of the much making of it, or hiding of it, as *Rachel* did, that none may come at it but themselves. It is idolatry in regard of the honour done to it, which is due to God. For though they knowe it is not God, nor dare adore it for God; yet they loue it altogether, as they should loue God; that is to say, with all their heart, with al their soule, and leaue to God but a little.

Eph. 3. 5.

Luc. 7.  
1. Co. 5. 11.

It is called idolatry also in the other sence. For when God comes in place, the idoll *Dagon* falls to the ground. Euen so when grace comes, houlding breakes her neck. Then swelling bags begin to leake, and massie heapes fall in peeces. The mettall melts as the heart melts, till all be deuided into portions, & goe where it should goe. Some such examples there be of true repēters, though very few; but many more might be, if men were not made hard like mettall, with looking at mettall; as the *Linonians* were turnd to wolues, with oftē gazing at wolues. *S. Paul* makes no better of these horders, the excommunicate persons. For he wil not haue vs conuerse with thē, nor so much as eat in their cōpany. They be rightly called, *auari quasi eris auidi*, or mony gripers; *auari quasi amari*, for their bitternesse toward the poore; *auari quasi auersi*, they turne their backs to a body, that lookes poore, and thinne on it. And yet because they wrong none in getting,

1. Reg. 5.

1. Cor. 5. 11.



they will not see their fault in keeping, and are in danger therefore of damning.

Gen. 14.

lib. 1. ca. 11  
1. Par. 28.

Howbeit, there is none of these iudgements, that euer touched holy *Abraham*, who was *dines auri, et argenti*. For he kept a great house, and releued many with it. Three hundred and eightene the Scripture speakes of, that were fighting men, besides women, and children, all bredde and brought vp saith *Iosephus* in his owne house. These touched not *David*, who heaped such a masse of treasure for the house of God, which his sonne was to builde, and he might not. These hardly touch Princes, or noble men of great expences as I saide before; nor Magistrates, or Prelates, who haue great riches, if they be good men withall, and as ready to poure it out againe, as fast as it came in, to the reliefe of many. Neither touch they any other, bee they neuer so rich of Gods blessings, so they be humble withall, and thinking store to be a burthen, will take aduise, and be gouerned, where they ought, and are directed.

If a man haue a yeares reuenue lying by him, the matter is not great, and it may be fitting for him. But to haue many yeares gatherings moulding by him, I neuer yet heard or read of any good man, but one; and him it neuer did good either dead, or aliue. And that was *Narses*, Generall to *Iustinian* for the west. Hee is touched with no fault but hourding. For he was otherwise a man both humble, and valiant, and no badde man to the poore. Hee left so much wealth in a cesterne vnder ground, that it could not be carried out in many dayes after it was found. But the *Emperour* made a good worke of it; for hee gaue it almost all away to the poore. And therefore I commend *Belisarius* much better, who was the other Generall for the east at the same time, and sawe the bestowing of his hugeriches himselfe vpon such as were of desert, and other pious vses, and hospitals for the poore. Our nation and countrey also hath beene, and still is as much beholding to such benefactors as any; and their names are memorable in townes, and citties where they abide. But especially those I say, that doe what they will doe in their life time, and not



at their death onely, when they can holde it no longer themfelues.

This *argument* (my good friends) may seeme as to you, but vaine, who I know are little troubled with this kinde of sinne. And yet ye haue good meanes when ye come home to rise and raise good fortunes. But the due consideration of tempting riches of the one side (which wee must dearely answer for if we haue them) and of pinching pouerty on the other side, which but few care to comfort, or affoord a good looke on; doth teach vs to pray thus, and it ought to be al our prayer. *Diuitias et mendicitatem ne dederis mihi, sed tantum victui meo tribue necessaria.* As one should say, Lord "let not me be rich, nor clog me with *Superfluum*; neither let "me be in beggars estate, nor distract me with want, or misery, "onely giue me necessities, and I aske no more. If riches come, I haue but an office of charge by it, and more "care I must haue to bestow them well, then haply they be "worth. If I be poore, I cannot pray quietly for thinking "of my wants. Giue me a meane therefore betweene both " (Lord) that I be not tempted to deny thee (as it is said) in "the same place, *ne illic ear ad negandum.* And it may bee I "shall deny thee with hourding, if I be rich; or with stealing, "if I be poore. Prou. 30.   
 ibid. vers. 9.

And thus when our Pastours teach vs, we must not think they ieast with vs, but shew vs the right way we must walke to dye securely. There calling is to know what is good for vs better then our selues, and what is right and equity in all things. This law of conscience I say is it, that makes all euen, which neither *Solon* nor *Lycurgus* euer knew of, to imprint in mens mindes. And which if they had, or that the Spirit of God had come within the element of naturall vnderstanding; *Philosophers*, and *Oratours* would haue vrged vs to this, as well as they. And yet many of them haue practised the very same, in their course of life, iust as ours doe teach vs. They contemned riches, or poured them out when they had them, content with ynough and no more. Such as *Crates*, *Anaxagoras*, *Zeno*, *Philoxenus*, and all the rest almost; not one of them rich, or that sought after it.



*Demonax* would take no care for meat or drinke, but when he was hungry he went in, where he saw the next dore open, & took a pittāce. Your excellent Poets, *Homer*, *Ennius*, *Plautus*, *Martiall*, and others, who had wits to command riches; yet were they poore men, content onely with inward contentment, let outward things go. And to come neerer our word, *Empedocles* thought nothing more Honorable, then contempt of *Superfluum*. The same said *Chilon* one of the seauen wise. *Possesse no more then yee neede* said he.

And of this opinion might seeme to bee the greatest worthies, almost that euer were, if they were not ouer ambitious. Such as *Cimon* of Athens, *Phocion*, *Aristides*, *Lamachus*, *Epaminondas*, *Fabritius*, *Menenius*; who either refused alwaies what was giuen them, or deuided their massie spoyle amongst there countrymen that wanted; and left not many of them so much as would bury them, but were buried at the common charge. And among these, *Epaminondas* aforesaid, I know not whether he were a greater Souldier, or Philosopher, but we finde him a great louer of pouerty; one that would neither borrow of any, nor take of gift, except it were for others neede. Hee thought most basely of couetousnesse, or hording; and saide so vile a thing as it, could neuer take such roote in vs, but by ill education. Hee giues vs also a *medicine* for it. The same  
 „ (saith he) that is good against raging lust. Let vs barre our  
 „ selues sometimes of lawfull pleasure, and we shall auoide  
 „ vnlawfull the better: euen so said he of *Couetousnesse*. We  
 „ must forbear lawfull gaine sometimes if wee will not bee  
 „ tempted of that's vnlawfull. Wee must not bee alwaies li-  
 „ stening after bargaines; which if we bee, he held it im-  
 „ possible to be iust, and vertuous. And by this meanes hee  
 brought *Pelopidas* the Duke of Thebes, a maruellous rich man, to be a great contemner of riches, and an imbracer of pouertie. Whereby he raised many worthy men, and releued numbers that wanted, and made the common to flourish out of his *superfluum*, although he had children of his owne.

Such an other was *Scipio* the patterne of all militarie prudence, and honour; who had the treasure of many nations



nations to dispose of, yet left no more when hee dyed, then three and thirty pound weight of siluer, and two of golde. Yea what left *Pericles* behinde him, more then what his father left him, notwithstanding his forty yeares greatnes among the Athenians? What left *Cato minor*? what *Phocion*, who might haue beene the richest in Athens, if hee would haue taken what was offered him by *Alexander*, and others? But hee would not, no not so much as for his children, or family. And I haue heard the like of an English *Chancellour*, who out of all his offices, and superfluities that had passed his hands, he made vp his hundred marke a yeare (which his father left him) but an hundred pound to leaue to his heire. I say nothing of *Plato*, *Plutarke*, *Seneca*, whose workes are extant, and breath out nothing but contempt of that, which wee striue to rende so much one from another.

What should I speake of the Tuberones in Rome; all gentlemen of a noble house, but decaied; yet liued most contentedly sixteene couple of them together, vpon one little farme, with much pouerty and paines taking, and neuer sought for more. No more did *Marcus Regulus*, or *Quintus Cincinnatus*; the one content with poore seauen acres to keepe his wife and children with; the other with foure; neither cared they for more; & this with good husbandry they thought sufficient. To whom I could adde a friend of mine at this day, a younger brother of the best gentlemen in our countrey, but of small meanes. It would doe one good to see him vndergoe so merrily his great charge of wife and children. He was driuen to doe all things almost himselfe. He was their Cater, Nurse, Chamberlaine, Schoolemaster, and whatsoeuer else was to bee done, hee did it, either within doores, or without. His onely study was, and a worthy study, to play the good husband, and keepe within compasse. But I returne to my matter.

Against this doctrine, which Diuines are so cleare in, ye will obiekt, that there is no such bond as I speake of, for giuing to the poore, because ye are not bound to bestow those things on your selues; and therefore much lesse to giue to others. Yee grant it is good to giue, but yee are not bound.



I answer, the consequence is false. For although I may be bolde with my selfe, yet I may not bee bolde with another. If one owe mee money, I may refuse to take it, though I neede it. But if I owe to him, I am bound to pay. Also I may refuse to eate if I will, but I may not deny my seruant to eate. Againe, if my selfe be defamed, I neede not alwaies stirre in it. But if I defame another, I must right him. And therefore that argument holdes not.

Yee obiekt againe, if that bee true of Saint *Austine*, that wee may not keepe *Superfluum*, then also we may not get it, nor receiue it : but wee may receiue it, therefore wee may keepe it. I answer. The case is like waifes, and straves, which belong to the Lord against all men, vntill the owner come to challenge them ; and then they bee none of the Lords. Euen so it is with *Superfluum*. It is our owne, and wee may take it, keepe it, and prouide more vntill occasion doe come to imploy it, and no longer. And yet it may bee also, that we are not bound to seeke occasions, as *Abraham* did, who went abroade to meete strangers of purpose, and to bidde them come in to eate and drinke with him. Or as they of *Emaus* did in the Gospell, who compelled the traoueller to goe in and eate with them. And yet God so blessed them for it, that hee made them worthy to talke with him face to face : the one with the blessed trinity, as some expound that place; the other with Christ glorified, as wee reade in

Gen. 18.

Luk. 24.

Gen. 18. 13. *Genesis*, and in the Gospell of Saint *Luke*.

Luk. 24.

Lastly yee obiekt, and yee will not bee answered, but tell mee I speake against my selfe, and against nature. What (say you) are we not neereest our selues ? Haue we not wife and children to prouide for, which God hath sent, and wee must keepe, and leaue behinde vs so prouided for, as may be answerable to our estate, and honour ? Is it sinne to gather and lay vp for them, which will not bee without care ; and care will not doe it, if wee bee so charitable, as to spend it as it comes in ? Is it a sinne to purchase, build, or amend our estates ? Indeede I must confesse, I spake euen now of bettering our estates, rather then abating ; which cannot bee well done, but out of *Superfluum*. For to borrow much for



it, will prooue diminishing instead of amending, as my selfe haue tryed to my cost ere now, when I was so wise as to leaue my estate to others wits, and fortunes, while my selfe had more minde to higher studies. But to satisfie you further in this point, I should referre you ouer to your learned masters, who are *parati ad satisfactionem omni petenti rationem*. It belongs to vs to beleue, and not to dispute. I am no Diuine, but onely an instructed Christian, as you and all may be, that will aske, and learne. 1 Pet. 3.

Howbeit, if yee will take such satisfaction as is to mee satisfaction ; it may please you to accept it, vntill a better come. There bee many iust occasions of spending our *Superfluum* besides the poore. I will giue instance onely of a house ; which a man may want, and were no more then fitting for his estate, but hee hath it not. They hold it a sinne to weaken his meanes, and sell much land for it, as it were to make a rich coate for one that lyes a dying, or is sicke of a consumption. If his *Superfluum* will doe it, he may doe his minde in it. Many poore shall haue worke, and reliefe by it, and if hee keepe a good house after for the poore, and not a shew of a house, for the world to gaze on, as some haue done ; his conscience will bee the better satisfied, and the world in him, that God is not forgotten, but hath his part in it.

There is no question made, but a man may purchase what hee will out of *Superfluum*, so the lawes of loue bee kept to his neighbour, which I spake of before. Hee must not gripe him by no meanes, nor worke vpon his neede, but giue him the full worth. A gentleman stands in more neede sometimes then a poorer man in shew. And it may bee a deede of charity to buy of him, if lending will not serue. And wee shall neuer be charged with it for hourding. But I must tell you more what they hold, and it is a caueat to all *purchasers*. They must not put themselues vpon the *taint* so, as to shut vp doores, or abate saile for it a yeare or two after ; but the more they purchase, the more they must spend, either in their house, vpon increase of an honest retinue, or vpon the poore elsewhere ; five persons more for euery hundred



pound land purchased, were not much. If *Crassus* had gotten it as well, as hee spent it well what hee got, hee had beene a right good man. Hee kept a Legion some whiles together at his owne charge, besides other good workes of his. How much more should Christians doe the like. They may purchase warily; but they must spend it liberally. They may heape, but not houre; like, but not loue too much. And the greater meanes one hath, the more in store for them that want.

They bee misers that purchase, and spend no more; lurchers to the common; they abuse the law of *Superfluum*, and the blessings of God bestowed on them. Yet how many bee there of these that wee could reckon; who liue at the same rate now, as they did many years since, when they could not spend the tenth nor twentieth part. They keepe neuer the more seruants, set neuer the more on worke, feede no more mouthes, giue no more to the poore, or contribute to the common much more then they did. And what a world should we haue, if there were many rich, and euery rich man should doe so. Either men must perish, or seeke some where else where to dwell. Wee may iudge of a whole countrey by a little countrey towne, of fortie, or fifty houses, with land to them all, and one man buyes them out, and dispeoples the village. What becomes of the poore the whilest, who liued there wholly vpon reliefe, haply ten, or a dozen? No doubt hee is bound to keepe them, out of his increase. They must bee part of his purchase, or appurtenances; yet will not spend two pence the more for it, but postes them ouer to the shire, if he can, to beggetheir bread. Would not many such townes in a countrey consume a countrey? and is it not happy that prouision was made for it betimes in later Parliaments? Let there not be a beggar amongst you, saies the Law of God. And there is a blessing annexed to it from Gods owne mouth. As who should say, Diuide your abundance among them, euery one in his tribe, ward, or parish, that there may be no beggar, or vagrant person among you. For without this diuision, there will be store of them, and Statutes will not serue the turne.

Deut. 15.

I assessed



I assessed therefore euery hundred pound a yeares increase at keeping five poore bodies, or setting them on worke, besides his household. Whether I exceede or come short in this reckoning, I must refer it to your iudgements, and experience. Our doctours intermeddle not so farre, but leaue it to mens consciences, so they make a true conscience of it. But if ye thinke that I grate too much vpon you; *Memento dierum antiquorum*, call to mind the ancient daies, when there were not such store of poore, as now there be to bestow their *superfluum* on. But in lieu thereof, what a nūber of Churches, & Chappels were then built, euery three miles walke doth testifie; besides Bishopricks, and houses of religion, free-schools, hospitals, bridges, almshouses, & other works of charity euery where to be seen, with lands to most of them all. Which if it be well pondered, and how largely they powred out their *superfluum* in those daies; the proportion I speake of, will not seeme great to make vp this equality. It is hard to make a rule in this busines, if conscience do it not. But very probable it is, if a man spend halfe his reuenue in hous-keeping, & among the poore, and leaue nothing of it at the yeares ende, hee will haue little to answer for in that; and the remainder will not be much. But not to spend halfe that way, not a quarter, not a fift, or a tenth part, as many doe not; that they hold to be execrable in the sight of God, and intolerable in a common-wealth.

Deut. 32.

Neither is their any sence or husbandry in it, to hord & lay vp for children; which made such a flourish in the contrary argument at the first. There is no sence I say, for the portion will not grow bigger with locking vp. Not good husbandry, when Scripture it selfe aduiseeth vs to put it out to bankers or other lawfull gaine, and not to hide it or dig it into the ground; *Opportuit te committere pecuniam meam nummularijs*. And so no doubt it would bee both surer to them that shall haue it; and also more auailable to them, then if it lay cankering all the while in a corner to look one.

Mat. 25.

But the thing I should haue spoken of at the first, I may not omitte to speake of last. And that is, how to know *Superfluum*, and when we haue it. For the true deciding where-



of, I thinke wee shall neede a iudge. For if men bee their owne iudges, they thinke they haue neuer enough, much lesse too much. Witnesse their owne complaints, if we talke with them seriously about this businesse, though they bee neuer so rich. And I thinke they say truely in respect of their want of that they intend, and would compasse; but falsely, in respect of our duty to God, and bond to the poore. *Couetousnesse* is a most vile passion, and couetous persons are neuer out of it. The angry body is not alwaies angry. The spitefull body not alwayes enuious. The vicious, and gluttonous bodies are not alwayes so. These haue a time to see their faults, beeing as it were in a tertian, or quartan, the other allowes no intermission, but is in a cotidian till he dye. And being alwayes therefore in his passion, he cannot iudge rightly of himselfe. Hee knowes not his owne way, or worke so well as an other, or as himselfe either, if his fitte would giue leaue. Which yet, because it will not, he can hardly iudge right, but partially without a good friend to helpe him.

De ira  
cohib.

And this is *Plutarques* rule, not mine. That when wee are doubtfull, whether wee doe well or ill, and whether we mend or impaire, and we cannot goe out of our selues as Paynters doe from their worke a while, to iudge the better of a fault when they come to it againe: heere (saith he) wee had need conuent our selues before some friends, or friend, and aske their opinions what is amisse, and would be amended in vs. A golden rule, and more worthy a Christian, then a heathen. And if we follow it, we could neuer erre. Neither can any man want such a friend, if he be humble, or as curious for his soules health, as he is for baser things. But what is he that knowes not his owne store, and expences; or how few there be, that fare the better by him? Let him thinke with himselfe whether he would not spend lesse if he could with honesty. Let him call to mind, how many mens lands, and inheritances he holds, whereof euery one fedde many, and hee feedes not one the more? Can hee see this, and know this, and thinke hee hath not *Superfluum*?

Or



Or if he neuer were purchaser; yet hee cannot but know how much comes in to him, more then he spendes, welfare all good tokens. His bagges make mention, if hee haue eyes to see them. Hee is well ynough sighted, to iudge of his neighbours, what euery one is worth. And can he not see himselfe much better? He will say, such a one is but a poore man, or not the man he is takē for. Such a one is well to liue, and before hand. Such a one is a neere man, and hath thousands, or a thousand to spare; and yet doth not know, what himselfe hath to spare? His cost vpon iron chests, and double dores, and lockes most curious; doe not all these point him to his *Superfluum*? his feare of robbing, his heart now and then misgiuing, or his minde still running on it, with a perpetuall audit in his braine; doe not all these vsheer him daily to the mint of his treasure; and can hee not yet see, or thinke, that he hath *Superfluum*? There is none so blind, but may see it if he will, though many bee so selfe-louing, that they list not to heede it.

And of this, my comming is to heede you, and to aduise you my deere louers, and friends, that when yee come to haue more store of Gods blessings, ye may make a blessing of it, and not abuse your selues, abuse God, abuse his holy word, as all that be couetous doe; who haue nothing so frequent in their heart, and soule, and it is all the Scripture they practise, *Noli esse iustus multum*, Be not ouer iust, and, *Omnia traham ad me ipsum*, I will draw all to my selfe, and my fellowes shall haue none. As who should say all were borne beggars to make him great; all mens fortunes ordained to raise his fortunes. And it is not out of time; that I aduise you thus. It may be no time fitter then euen now, that the world goes diminishing euery day from God, and all goodnesse; and stands a great deale more vpon will and pride, then it hath done eschewing counsell. As euery man thinkes it aduantageable for him; so goes right and wrong with him, and hee will bee his owne iudge. Time hath beene, that these cloaked, and coloured sinnes haue not beene so common, as now they are. Either people haue beene more single-hearted, or easier to be instructed then

Ecclesiastes  
7.17.  
Ioh. 12.



they be now; and had more care of the world to come, and how to gette thither, then to sit deuising with themselues how to make themselues greathere, and let heavenly things come after at leisure. But let vs leaue the reason to God. Once we finde his word to be true, *Diminuta sunt veritates a filiis hominum*, Truthes are clipt and diminish't from the sons of men; and the sons of God (if we bee so) must restore them againe. If we will aske, we may finde. And wee haue the same oracles we had, the same spirit to teach vs, and to set on foot again that primitiue iustice, if we wil imbrace it.

Psal. ii.

Couetousnesse is a most venemous thing, contagious, and vnneighbourly, fedde onely with selfe-loue, a most base and vnworthy loue, and I haue giuen you rules against it. *Prodigality* also, and *Riot*, are naught; and I haue told you, what a sinne it is to waste ones estate wilfully, and how ye may auoide it with frugality. Both sorts are very sinnefull. For the couetous body perswades himselfe, that all the *Superfluum* hee hath, is no more but needefull. The prodigall makes no more of his needfull, then if it were *superfluum*, and so poures it out wastfully without wit. The sweet mean is betweene both, which there is no difficulty to practise with the helpe of God, and your cheerefull indeauour.

To which end, I haue told you many things which a couetous eare would be loath to heare at the first, vntill he do deeply consider what will become of things at last. And yet if I haue any thing said, more then your learned wil approoue; let it be as vnfaid. I haue laid before you but their conclusions; which if ye shall doubt of, your pious scrupulositie for better resolution, knowes whether to repaire. Out of my loue I would haue you iustly informed, and as it were catechised in matters of iustice, as ye are wont to be in your points of faith. For which cause, I haue spent some time with you; but I desire no more credite, then what your learned will affirme. I told you there must be equality wheresoever there is good gouernment; euen betweene king and subiect respectiuely, and betweene rich and poore. Yea, there can be no stable gouernment, where this is not well lookt into, as it hath beene in the beginning of all common-wealths.

To



To some belongs more, to some lesse, euery one must haue necessities to their estat; which if they haue not, they ought to be supplied. And the supply makes as iust an equality, as if al had alike. If one haue mony, and another haue wares, they are equall. If one be poore, and another supply, they are equall. If one haue substance, and another desire it not, they are equall : it is all one to haue (saith *Seneca*) and not to desire to haue. For equality consisteth not in hauing alike, but not wanting alike. If wants bee supplied, all is equall ; if not supplied, there is a fault, that must bee amended. Yea; where knowne want is, and no supply ; some mans pinching will smart for it in the world to come ; and none haue cause to feare it so much, as they that haue *Superfluum*. No law to pull it from them, but the law of conscience as I said, which to obserue is to make all euen ; and nôt to obserue, is to pro- uoke Gods displeasure, who is Lord of all ; and no more is to bee done in it, then heathens can in the businesse.

Epist. 120.

And therefore I haue gone with you by degrees, to recti- fie your consciences ; as how yee should loue your selfe, and how your neighbour. Your soule first, his next. Your owne life first, his next; vnlesse hee be a publike person, or very necessary to the common-weale. Your goods, and fortunes likewise, how to bee vsed frugally, yet charitably, without hurting your selues, or your soules. I might haue said how bountifull also for gifts, and benefits to followers, and fauourites, according to their deserts, and your abilities; else it will soone be sinne, and sinke mens estates with ouermuch good nature, ere they bee aware. And this is more to bee pittied, then any thing ; besides the offence to God-ward. Likewise how yee may purchase, and what conditions for buying and selling without wrong, or exaction. Saint *Pauls* 1 *Thes.* 4. rule is the best ; *nequis supergrediatur, neque supernuiat in negotio fratrem*, Let no man ouer-reach or circumuent his brother in any businesse. Of your charity remember it. I might haue said the like of lending ; which is as good a deede, and a man is as much bound to doe, as to giue, if it bee with assurance. *Incuradus homo qui miseretur, & commo- dat*. Holy *David* saith it made him merry to lend, and yet

Psal. 111.



hee had no interest for it. I might haue said somewhat also of setting, and letting, where men bee of opinion, that they may doe what they will. But they may not. You must not racke it to the most, and stand to no hazzard. It ought not to trouble a man, if his tennant haue a penniworth for his money, or for fauour. The Lacedemonians neuer raised Rents, yet liued most happily. It is good for you to follow some worthy bodies, and to do as they doe, that are knowne to bee of the best conscience.

I haue not omitted to say somewhat of our duty to the common, and of the greatnes of this bond, and of the cheerefulnesse and alacrity wee ought to entertaine it with, sorry that our hand is not in euery publike worke, though no body saw it, but onely God. To the king especially; who as hee is great by law, so should hee be greater in our loue, and haue part with vs in all, but in grudge and contradiction. So farre bee it from vs to magnifie him in words, and minnifie him in workes, as they doe to *Conquerers* and *Tyrants*. And lastly I come to your *Superfluum*, whereof I haue shewne you some deformities, and what a monster it would prooue in a common-wealth, if lawes did not reprocue it somewhat, and conscience more. And yet I haue beene brieue vpon the point; the matter requiring more perswasion, then instruction, more eloquence, then arguments, and more grace in the hearer, then tongue in the teacher. For why?

Goods if they bee good, they haue wrong to be kept in. *Omne bonum est sui communicabile*, The nature of good is to doe good, and to impart it selfe to others, if man doe not hinder it. The sprouting springs are not content with their owne fulnesse, and to serue the neighbourhood with pailles full and tankardsfull, but send the rest immediately to poore Millars, and Fishermen, and make riuers nauigable for the vse of man. The liuer not content to feede it selfe with blood, packes away the ouerplus all the body ouer, euen to fingers, and toes, as farre as it can goe. Yea, golde and siluer not satisfied with their owne riches, and brightnesse; nor pretious gemmes with their luster, and vertue, where they lye in sea coastes, or desart mountaines; but offer themselues to



to mans industry, whosoever will fetch them. *Gaoga* and *Leo. Afer.* *Tambuco* furnish *Africke* with millions. *Mexico* and *Pern* replenish *Europe* and *Spaine*; and the *East Indies* releue *Asia* with richest stone, and mettall. It is against nature to keepe good things in. Yet wee, by corrupt vsage smother vp all in corners, that none may bee better for them. If one may doe it, all may doe it. And what if all should doe the like? what if all were houlders? should wee not thinke them *Caterpillers*?

Say it were not money wee houlded, but that wee bought vp all the beefes and muttons in markets, all the corne, and graine that comes there; and all other commodities that come in for mans prouision: would not townes and countries cry out on vs? and is it not all one, to hould vp euery mans prouision, and to hould vp that which men should buy it with? If all should hould vp corne as one did, a countri-man of ours, who solde no corne but in deare yeares; should they not bee murderers to the multitude, and quellersto their owne soules? The man was rich, and had alwaies three yeares corne in barnes, and stackes before hand. His farme was his owne, rich ground all of it. The fourth yeare, vpon a Whitsune-eue, he walked vp a hill, and saw the countrey full of goodly corne, and came home to the good woman his wife, and tolde her he was vndone. Why," so said shee. It is likely to be a plentifull yeare againe said," hee. Marry thanks bee to God said shee, many such yeares," God send vs. But hee went into his barne, and hung himselfe, and so had dyed if chance had not beene. The houlder doth ynough for his part, that no man should haue either money, or wares. *Dionisius* the Tyrant of *Syracusa*, taught a citizen how to imploy his money better then so. For hearing of much treasure hee had hidden in the ground, he sent vnto him to bring it him; which hee did. But hee brought not out all. And that which hee left, hee bestowed presently vpon house and land in the countrey. Which when the Tyrant also heard of, hee sent for him, and gaue him his money againe, saying to him: since thou knowest how to vse money, take thy money againe, which is made to vse, and not to "



lye by one ; and so dismissed him. Glad was he that he learnt so good cheape. But woe be to the country that knowes not how to vse riches, vntill a Tyrant reach it them.

True riches is to haue store of necessaries, wherewith to feede many, not store of *Superfluum*, that no body may touch. Golde and siluer will not feede as they lye, nor cost-ly furniture with gazing on. It will bee long before any of these will giue vs a breakfast, though neuer so goodly to behold. And therefore it was thought but rude and childish in *Telemachus*: who when he came vnto *Nestors* house, and saw it stored with wine, meate, prouision, and entertainment for all commers, and howshold-stuffe in great plenty ; hee neuer commended him for the store of all necessaries. But when hee came to *Menelaus* his house, where was plenty of superfluous things : the romes bright with copper, gold, and alchumy ; and pillars of great magnificence : he was ready to adore, saying :

*Talem intus Iupiter ( nisi fallor ) olympius aulam  
Possidet ; attonitum sic me veneratio tentat.*

Ioues Bower I thinke can shew no more ;  
So am I tempted to adore.

As if pompe were more necessary then life ; or Superfluity more commendable in a fewe, then ynough for all.

## The Conclusion.

**N**OW let me not holde you ouer long. As I professed in the beginning, to say nothing of open sinnes, but of these close, and cloaked sinnes, which are sinnes notwithstanding, and full of iniustice : so haue I said no more then nature teacheth vs, as well as law diuine ; what a monster *Cupiditie* is, and how grossely it misleades vs, and how contrary to it owne selfe, more then other Cupidities are.



are. I beganne with *Plutarke* a heathen wise man, and I will ende with him. Hee tels vs plainely that no Cupidity so fighteth with it selfe as this of riches doth. All other desires, are more for vsing then possessing. This contrary more for possessing, then vsing. Wee desire not meate, to abstaine from it, we desire not wine to forbear it, wee desire not warme cloathes to lay them vp: but when wee haue eaten wee are satisfied, when wee haue drunke wee haue enough, when our gowne is on, it is cumber to put on more; and if wee haue our pleasure at any time, we haue done with it soone. Onely riches when wee haue them, our thirst is not alaide; wee still desire more. The more we haue the more we couet, *Semper auarus eget*; new rents, and new commings in assuage not our appetite while wee liue; but the medicine increases the disease. To this wee may adde. What hinders vs more in our iourney to heauen, then this vntoward Cupidity? what stoppes vs to doe iustly with our neighbour, friend, or brother, but Cupidity? what makes vs grate vpon him, and draw what we can from him, but this? what blindes vs so that we see not our debt to the poore, but this? for so the Scripture cals it *debitum*, Eccl. i. 4. a debt, *Declina pauperi aurem tuam, et redde debitum tuum*, render thy debt to the poore. Who can abide to heare this? ye will say they be lewde folke now a daies, and vnthankfull, and it is no charity to giue them. How then? I talke not of giuing them, I speake of debt. It is our abundance as I said before, and not their goodnesse, that makes it theirs. If they be badde, they must liue to amend, God sends raine vpon the iust, and vniust; and our debts we must pay both to good, and badde; whereof this debt is one to the poore, howsoeuer cupidity blindes vs, and casts a vaile ouer our eies, that we cannot see it. Poets faine *Cupid* blinde: euen so is Cupidity. It couereth our vnderstanding, turneth reason awry, it strengtheneth passion weakeneth iudgement, rayseth pride puts downe pittie, fireth enuy cooleth charity, preacheth parsimony hateth hospitality, is open handed to take close fist to giue, no, not to himselfe; robbes the king of that is his, the subiect of his, the



common of theirs, nor willingly giues any body their own. We may call it in a sort a sinne against nature, that beareth such a sting against it selfe, and owne honour. O thinke not lesse of it because it is lesse seene. The more hidden a sinne is, the more dangerous. I haue discovered vnto you many a sinnefull practise to day, which it may bee yee haue not heard of. Contemne them not I beseech you. For such as these will damne a man, when euill custome

2. Reg. 24. biddes him bee secure. That sinne of *David* in numbring of his men, how soone would he haue seene it, if the Prophet as it is thought had not tolde it him first? and yet this ignorance escaped not punishment, his kingdome was plagued for it; seuentie thousand lost their liues at a clappe. And

1. Reg. 15. how would *Saul* haue acknowledged his sinne, in sauing the best things of *Amaleck* to serue God with as he thought, if *Samuell* had not stept in with due reprehension? and yet pretence of reason was no barre to Gods iudgement, that fell out heauy vpon him. Long before that, Gods seruant

Num. 20. *Moyse*, how had hee knowne his offence of conuience with the peoples contradiction, if God had not admonisht him presently before it grewe greater? Or the Patriarke

Gen. 38. *Judas* his iniustice to *Thamar*, vntill shee had shewne him his Ring, and staffe, and then he said, *Iustior me est*, The harlot was iuster then he. Long after this, the man of God,

3. Reg. 13. who was sent to ouerthrowe the altar of *Jeroboam*, and foresaw the things that hapned three hundred yeares after, yet knew he not the thing that was present, which was his owne sinne of light beliefe; vntill knowledge came to him accompanied with punishment, whereof a Lyon was both messenger, and executioner. It is no rare thing amongst sinners, not to see their fault, vntill they be told of it. Saint *Bernard* complaineth of himselfe, that he hath set vp a vice for a vertue sometimes. Now what thinke yee I pray you of all these, and what of your selues? are ye stronger and better sighted then they? might yee not bee deceiued all this while in your courses, as well as they? and if we haue a plague or plagues in our country, may it not be for some of these hidden sinnes, though there were no other? And  
may



may not the good bee punished for the badde, as they were in *Iosuaes* dayes, for the sinne of onely *Achan*? yea, may it not be for these enormities alone, that God doest threaten to set the earth in an vproare, and to make the dwellers thereof to wring their hands, for vsing the poore so hardly, for buying them out with siluer, and making vse of their neede? How much better is it therefore for vs to take warning by these, and to furnish our selues in time with sufficient knowledge, especially where ignorance will no way excuse. *Omnis via viri recta sibi*. The Spirit of God foretels vs as it now prooues, that euery one thinkes hee is in the right, when he is not, nor is like to bee, where he is his owne iudge, and partiality holds plea. I tolde you *Plutarkes* rule; wee must summon our selues before our friend, or friendes in doubtfull businesse, and Scriptures accord with it. *Va soli*, Woe bee to one alone. For if his witte and selfe conceipt once giue him a fall, who can raise him againe? We liue in miserable blindnesse heere in the world. For while we be in sinne, wee haue no other light but sinne. *Lucerna impiorum peccatum*, We haue no other torch-light to goe before vs, but ill custome; a darke dazeling light, and therefore haue neede of one to leade vs by the hand. *Cæcus amor*, our loue blindes vs. *Cæca libido*, our dayly likings, and holding affections blinde vs. *Concupiscentia transuertit sensum sine malitia*, saith *Sapiens*, Wee are so vsed to our appetites and iniustices, and make them so bold and wanton with vs euery day, that wee sinne, and thinke not of it. And therefore woe be to a man alone without a guide, or admonisher. It is not good for a man to be alone sayth God himselfe. *Faciamus ei adiutorium*, Let vs make him a helpe. For, *Viri non est vt dirigat gressus suos*, saith holy *Jeremy*, It belongeth not to a man to gouerne himselfe. And therefore let vs make him a helpe. And what helpe? Not an angell, not a God to conuerse with him; but *simile sibi*, Such an other as himselfe; a sinner like himselfe, a frayle man like himselfe, a man. It is for our humility, that God will haue man to comfort man, none but man to counsell man, and will not haue vs looke for illu-

Ios. 7.  
Amos 8.

Pro. 21.

Ecclesiastes  
4.

Pro. 21. 4.

Sap. 4.

Gen. 2.  
Ier. 10.



strations from heauen in euery doubt, as they did in olde time, when all was darkenesse, and very fewe to gouerne vs. God shines vpon diuerse diuersly. And his grace hath put more wisdom and grace into one, then into another, to furnish them that lacke. The Scripture calls them, *Sensatos. Cum videris sensatum, euigila ad eum*, When yee shall finde an vnderstanding man, or a learned man, giue care to him. Weare downe his thresholds with often comming, and listen to him, as it is written in the same place, *Gradus ostiorum eius exterat pes tuus*, saith he. And King *Dauid* tels vs in another place, where he speakes to God, saying: *Tu parasti directiones*; That God prouided directions for euery one that will aske. Yea more then this, if wee aske not, it is a signe (I thinke) that God is angry with vs. For so he speakes of a sinner, that *Secundum multitudinem irae suae non quaeret*, It is according to the greatnesse of Gods anger, that a sinner will not seeke, or aske. And therefore why doe men aske no oftner then they doe, or follow them no better? or why doe they not weare downe their thresholds with comming, and going, as they are bidden? And I speake not this to houlders onely, but to young men, and spenders also; who daily vndoe themselues for want of directions. I neuer knew any man waste himselfe, that was ruled by such. And of all the vnthriffts that euer I heard of, I neuer knew any, that was ruled by such. They will be ruled by cheaters, & those that prey vpon them, but not by such. They will listen to them that humor them, but not to them that pittie them, and wish them all true wealth. Both sorts neede counsell, I know not which more. Whether he that will waste all with ouer lashing; or hee that ruines many with ouer-keeping. You stand yet indifferent betweene both. But which way soeuer you incline; bee neuer your owne iudges, but listen. Bee fearefull alwayes to endamage any man, and at such times especially I wish you to be aduised most, when yee haue most aduantage, or are likely to gaine most. There be that perswade you to contempt of the world; I entreate you onely that it contemne not you, when it hath tumbled you into the lake. To them



it belongs, to shew you the ficklenesse, and deceit of it ; I doe but wishe you to imprint it in your minde. Your preachers tell you, how and what yee must hound ; *thesaurizate vobis thesauros in coelis*, Heape treasure in heauen ; I doe Mat. 6. but admonish you of your sinne against nature, and the abuse of your good meanes, which God hath lent you. They tell you how hardly things are gotten, how soone lost, and how little they deserue of vs, for all our much making, and will not so much as accompany vs to our graue : I say no more then what *Leonidas* tolde you, when *Xerxes* wrote vnto him to come on his side, and hee would make him much greater then euer hee was. But hee wrote vnto him againe. If thou knewest o *Xerxes* what the goods of this life are, and, how little to bee esteemed, thou wouldest not seeke as thou, doest for others mens. This yee will thinke was well saide of a king, a souldier, a heathen. Wee should know better then hee, what these things are. What bee they better the best of them, then a penny in a paille of water, seeme great, and are not ; fire in ones bosome, burne more then warme ; a wagge, or wanton much cockered and loued, and loues not againe ? when wee dye, they are as readily another mans as ours, who tooke all the care to get them together. Let vs learne of a heathen for very shame, if not for charity, nor loue of Christ, to esteeme as little of these outward things, as they doe of vs. That is to say, to make vse of them, and no more ; or at the least, not to prize them so, as to lye cankering by vs long. If yee like to goe light, and free from burthen, heape not burthen vpon burthen ; which if ye doe, yee will hardly keepe euen, but one sinne or other will ouertake you, and giue you a fall. *Qui pauca requirunt, non multis exidunt*, saith our *Philosopher*, They that seeke little, offend little ; therefore they that seeke much, offend much ; and what they get ill, will prooue ill, doe what they can. What will it auaille a man to circumuent his poore brother, and to get by him (as they say) by right or wrong ? I haue tolde you, it is wrong, if hee get it so ; and it must bee repaired ere yee dye. If learned men bee learned, and haue not bestowed all their time in vaine ; if God haue promised



Eph. 4.

Ose 4.  
Ier. 17.

them his spirit to direct you ; if they bee not very cyphers, and dumbe shewes onely ; and furthermore, if God hath giuen them our soules in charge, for their knowledge and grace ; and wee as much bound to heare them, as the Iewes were to heare theirs in the olde law ; who helde it the greatest sinne that was, to disobey them in any thing : and lastly, if wee bee not very *Atheists*, and enemies to all religion ; they bee the men wee ought to beleue in the cases aforesaid, where wrong, or iniustice may in any sort bee doubted. The very attempt and throught of wrong, is wrongfull, much more the accomplishing. And beleue mee they will none of them prooue as they promise, but deceiue vs most pittifully in the end. I haue known & seen it in many. If God loue them, hee will neuer let them thriue with it long ; but either they shall loose it quite, that they get so, or shall haue more vnquietnesse, and trouble with it, then it is worth. If God loue vs not ; wee may thriue with it iollily for a time, and some of our posterity after vs for our greater plague. God giues the wicked also their desires, but it is in anger, not in mercie saith Saint *Austine*. And then, what are wee better for Sunne-shine, if hee that made the Sunne frowne on vs. Wee saue not now adaies of the ancient piety, and Christian feeling that hath beene. Men and women haue thought it burthensome to their consciences, to keepe any thing wrongfully. It lay heauily on their stomacks like raw flesh, when they had done amisse. And if they were of any resolution to God-ward, they would not touch, nor come neere that was none of their owne. Whereof wee haue a noble example of *Constantine*, who forbad the tribute of *Curtizans* to defile his coffers, as they were wont. And our Christian *Tiberius* whom I named before, would none of *Narxes* his massie treasure. Hee knew not how it was got, that was so euilly kept. And the same Prince before he came to bee Emperour, beeing made Master of the Pallace, and declared successor to *Iustinus* ; whose wife *Sophia* that couetous Empresse had gotten together ilfavouredly great heaps of treasure : this worthy man when hee found it, hee poured it all out, and sent it packing to the poore. Whereat

when



when the olde Empresse was angry, and asked him what he meant to bee so lauish of that shee got together with such labour, and anxious care for her husband; ô said hee, the Exchecker I hope shall neuer neede such ill gotten goods. And his words prooued true. For there was neuer Prince so rich and fortunate in all things, that euer I read of, as hee was afterward for the time hee raigned, which was seauen yeares. And who more infortunate then *Brennus* the french Duke after hee had spoyled Temples, and robbed Churches of their treasure, saying; the gods had neede giue vs, and not wee giue them. And was there any in the world, more vnhappy then *Capio Seruilius*, and his partners, after the spoyle of the Temple of *Tholoufa*, where they had infinite treasure, ynough to haue made them all for euer? but as *Linie* noteth, none of them all prospered, but miserably dyed. *Capio* himselve, was ouerthrowne by the *Cimbrians*, was turned out of his Consulship, as neuer was any before him; his goods confiscate, was tumbled headlong downe the staires, and dyed in yrons, hauing beene happy enough before, and triumphed ouer the *Cilicians*. But this is the iudgement of him that searcheth all things, and winkes at them still that doe naughtily, vntill hee sees his time, to come vpon them with vengeance. And what hath a man gotten when hee hath rent and scrap't together what hee can? many a cappe and knee it may bee, for his fortune; for it was but his fortune. Many a secret curse that hee dies not yet; for they haue no hope of him to doe much good, while hee liueth: many a nodde hee gets besides at his manner of rising. For such a one is vndone by him saith one, and yet he was no interest man. Hee hath much to answer for saith another, and yet hee neuer tooke forfeiture, or solde to daies. Hee hath beene hard to the common saith one; yet hee would hoyse vp his fellowes saies another. The king is the worse for such as hee, saith one; but it is more then the king knowes, saith another. Thus they play vpon the poore penny-father. But hee shall not want some also, that will praise him, and commend him, to bee a very kinde man to his friend; so it cost him nothing, saith another. One com-



mends him for a good *Iusticer* ; hee will not come in danger of lawe, saith another. I haue seene him giue well to the poore, saith one ; so it bee well seene, saith another. Hee is very wise saith one ; *to haue and holde*, saith another. Hee was continent of his body, saith one ; hee saued by that, saith another. So euery vertue of his hath a sponge with it, and euery vice a penfill. Fewe thinke well of him heartily, no not they that faine would. And when hee comes to dye, what laughing teares follow, and blackes of ioy, not of mourning. And heere begins his wofull pageant. If all his golde were in his carkasse, hee would haue as many houndes about him, as a dead horse, or as there bee tormenters about his beggarly soule. His conscience torments him, and wounds him, that euer hee was so carking for that he should neuer haue with him. His memory tortures him, to thinke of his cares, and what a slaue hee was to them, and is not the better of a pinne for them now, but the worse. His feare affrights him, that they that haue all, will bee deceiued with it, as hee was. Hee feares his wife will come to him shortly, or his childe, or some body else whom hee loued ; and this torments him extreame. The diuels floute him instead of comforting him ; and those whom hee wronged, haue neuer done accusing him to his thinking. His wits confound him, and rende his heart in peeces with cruell distractions. His throate hoarse with crying, skrieking, and hellish groanes. Hee would faine get out by him that came in last, but impossible. All his fellowes so grisly and gashfull, that it is a hell alone to see them. If a man were amongst Turks, or Cannibals, hee might haply finde some face of gentler aspect ; then other, to ease his heart, and make his moane vnto ; there not so, all insociable villaines. No friende, or olde acquaintance there to befriende him. No not brother, or sister, but to take him by the throate, and spit fire in his face. It bootes him not to lye still, he is so full of paine. It helps him not to stirre, for being made to lye still. No kinde of hope hath accessse, but is bar'd, and double bar'd from him. It were some comfort vnto him, if he could not thinke at all. All thoughts are lashes to him with



with an iron whippe. See how the poore wretch is changed. To thinke of golde, is to thinke of a toad. To thinke of them that haue it, and care little for him, it wrings him to the guttes. To remember the pleasures he had in walking ouer his grounds, makes him as melancholy as a mad man. To thinke of heauen lost for a trifle, so like an Asse as he was, he knawes his flesh from his bones. Alasse, how short I come of his dreadfull estate with my slender imagination? But surely when such a soule reflects vpon such a misery, hee frettes and grienes, and wrings his hands so pittiously, that a heart of brasse would melt to behold it. But all in vaine. Hee would faine imagine it a dreame, but that is idle. He wishes hee were in some dungeon full of ordure, in a stinking prison full of irons, in a shipwracke at sea, in the bottome of a deepe well, or in an ouen full of flames; yet all this in vaine. Wishes doe no more but torment more. He curses God to his face, he curses his parents, and progenitors; he curses all flatterers, and them that soothed him vp; hee curses himselfe most damnably, that had but one sinne, or euill disposition to take heede of, and set so light by it. He findes it now, that he saw and would not see, knew and would not know; hee might haue askt, and would not stoupe for it, because he liked his owne waies. Poore wretch, forlorne, miserable, and forsaken wretch. If he were in life againe, what would hee doe? hee could tell how to vse the matter, better then hee did. Which I pray God, we may learne to doe by his wooll example, if we saw him. It is not land, or mony, or goodly things, or faire glozes, that would damne him againe, if he were alieue againe. He was not so griping, as he would now be giuing. He was not so vpon aduantage, as he would now giue aduantage. He was not so ready to rend frō a man the one halfe, as now to render fourefold; not so sparing then towards common good, as now more for the common, thē for his priuat; not so proud then of his fortunes, as now humble & affable; not so large then, as now scrupulous; not so auerted then from the poore, as now compassionate and tender ouer the poore, and rather delighting in them.



This day let all men assure themselves, will one day come, and will not bee long, but they shall see how foolish they were for all their seeming wit; how little for all their greatnes; how poore, and ragged for all their hounding, & scraping together; how full of lip-labour all their praiers, & how course their conceits in heauenly affaires. More shall they see vnder a silly winding sheete, then vnder a Cannopy of gold; more in the dumpes of their euerlasting melancholy, then heere in the height of their iolitie. But all to late after finall impenitence. O that any teares of ours, or sobs of endlesse lamentation might giue them ease, but they will not. I speake no more of them; my heart doth bleede, that any of these woes should fall vpon any one. But it hath beene, and will be. Yet thanks be to God, and truely let vs reioyce, and clappe our hands, all we that are yet liuing, and are not as yet in that dolefull pitte. There is no wrong but we may yet right. And it may be, there is yet no wrong but we may preuent. Let vs be wise betimes, and learne by other mens harmes. Wee especially that professe our selues of Gods houshold; and let vs accustome our selues to bee scrupulous, and to doe nothing without counsell. It will trouble vs much to restore againe, when we haue wronged. Wee finde by experience they will bee damned first (as wise as they are) before they will heare of it. To thinke all ours; that we force from a body by law, or might, it is folly. To doe otherwise then we will bee done to, is little honour, or honesty. To sooth our selues with ill custome, where nothing warrants, but ill custome, is to cozen our selues, and make sport for the deuill. Now let vs cast vp our eyes to heauen, if we be not cast-awaies, and desperate. Let not a little mony damne vs, or hope of gaine gaine-say vs, when we knocke at heauen gate. Nay why should wee hazzard our best part so, or put our heauenly portion in aduenture for it. What reason haue wee to loose a certainty there, for an vncertainty heere? Why should we loose a thousand poundes sure our owne, for an hundred halfpence not sure our owne, or how long we shall haue it? away with it. Let it not taint our chests, and canker our soules. Put it



it not together with that is well gotten. In stead of giuing, or lending where neede is, let vs not take another mans without need, and which no neede should compell vs vnto. He that hath least, hath enough of that little to answer for, though he heape not on himselfe more, by wresting from others. If yee will be patient, and milde, and void of all passion; if ye will free your selues from enuy, and anger, which I told you in the beginning is so necessary for vs; and lastly, if ye will goe light to heauen when ye dye, and will be alwayes ready for it when God shall call; away with your clogge of cupidity: let it approach your heart no more; but be indifferent to all things, whether ye haue them or no, and assure your selues ye shall gaine in the end by it.

*Magnus questus pietas, cum sufficientia*, Better a little with content, then a great deale to trouble our braines withall 1. Tim. 6. at our last gaspe: a little with true honesty, then a great deale with prophane cupidity. Will rich men and ambitious bodies giue credence to *S. Paul*, who tels them wherein true gaine consisteth, and how they shall get it? Religion, pietie, and feare of God; these make profite saith hee, and gaine vs great matters. Let these bee the plaine song to all our descant, these the commanders of all our businessse. O that we had the faith of *Tobias*. We lead saith he Tob. 4. a poore life. Yet what was his comfort? We shall haue many good things (saith he) if we feare God. Where is our faith now, is it asleepe? See how Saints agree. *Magnus questus* saith one; *Multa bona* saith an other. We shall haue many good things without hurting, or wronging any. O that we could looke out of *Saint Pauls* eye, when he called it, *Magnus questus*. What were theriches he saw, when he said it? what purple robes? yea, they exceeded all purple. What golde, and siluer? no treasure comparable. What pearle or precious thing? no pearle or iewell comes neere it. What saw he then? what inamoured his Eagles eye? what fil'd vp his heart so, that hee left no corner in it for worlds glory, or mony-bagges? What content tooke *Tobias*, who had wife and children to prouide for, and many childrens children? yet none of these base things could fa-



sten on him. His *Multa bona*, were in heaven; not *unum bonum* on earth. His thoughts were high reachers, as lowely as he was: a little was enough heere. What a world-skorning word is that of Saint *Paul*, *Cum sufficientia*? What he meant by it, he explaines himselfe in an other place; *Habentes alimenta, & unde tegamur, his contenti simus*, If wee haue enough to feede vs competently, and to couer vs conueniently to our estates we liue in, (for so is his meaning) what seeke wee more? why climbe we higher? what necessity to make our selues great? what neede lace vpon lace, silke vpon silke, dishes after dishes, and a thousand curiosities more then meere decency? Saint *Paul* loued it not, nor would haue vs to loue it. For hee speakes not this to priests, and religious onely (saith Saint *Chrysostome*) but in generall to all that liue in the world. Now how will your *Superfluum*, and this sufficiencie agree? how will those lime twigges comply with your winges, when yee shall come to vse them? But I will conclude with a iudgement, or a ruled case; ruled by God himselfe in Saint *Lukes* Gospell. *Quam difficile qui pecunias habent in regnum dei intrabunt?* How hardly shall they enter the kingdome of God, that haue store of mony? for hee sayth not *pecuniam*, but *pecunias*; not money which wee cannot bee without, but monyes, or store of mony; which keepes vs out. This is it, that makes it hard, or impossible. It is our selues that make it hard. Heauen is hard enough of it selfe to come by, yet wee forsooth must make it harder. Our vnfortunate couding hath giuen vs such a law, that it is almost impossible to come there. Halfe our wittes are imployed in this world, to make all things else easie. Our shooe must be easie for pinching vs., our saddle easie, our horse easie, our garment, our armour easie, that we may bestir vs; our staire easie to get vp. Arts, and sciences also we make easie with compendiums, the study of the law with abridgments. If we be to run, we throw off, we lay not on more. Onely in our way to heauen still, where we should goe lightest of all, we clogge on most of all, and for want of a Camels bunch

1. Tim. 6.

lib. 3. cont.  
Vitiup.

Luk. 18.



on our backe, we tye vs on one, as like it as we can, that wee may passe through the streights with more difficulty. Naked wee were borne into the world, that wee may runne the lighter; yet wee heape impediments vpon vs, to make vs heauier. Harken you that bee rich, and delight so in gathering. Listen to your iudgement. *Quia diues erat*, Because *ibidem*, hee had much, and store of *Superfluum* by him, and imployed it not; therefore it was impossible that hee should bee saued. Now who would hould after this? or who would not bee afraide of it? This is the gnawing worme of our soules, the bane of all good workes; the damme of deadly omissions, the very diuell in a hutch. Is there any man here that would be rich with these conditions? Let not the rich man tell vs, that hee is not rich. Let him tell God soe. Let him not tell mee, that hee keepes it for good purposes, this or that, or what it will bee. Let him tell God, and his friend so, and deceiue not himselfe. Euill keeping is almost as dangerous, as euill getting; and if yee halte with God in your pretences, looke for no better then fire and brimstrone. I speake my deare friends to them that bee rich, and holding; and not to you, but by the way of preuention; and to driue into your soules this holy feare before hand, which I see but very few haue. Shew your grace and courage in withstanding this euill. I loue you all deerely, and I haue done you the vttermost of my loue. My selfe yee see am decaying, and growing out of the world. You haue a long time to liue yet, and to giue good example. After a few dayes hap-ly, wee shall neuer see one another more. Yet if wee may meete in *Heauen*, that onely is my desire, and my heart is inflamed with it.

F I N I S.









# THE FIRST HO- MAGE OF A SOVLE TRVELY CONVERTED, WITH SIGNES THEREOF.



Ord it grieved thee (no doubt) to see our sinnefull estate ; and not so much our acts of sinne, as our miserable corrupted will, from whence they came. This drewe thee from thy heauenly throane, to an earthly habitacle, not only to pay our debts, but also for our example, and imitation of life. But woe be vnto vs ; we endeauour night and day to shame thee our louing master if wee could, by doing, and willing the cleane contrary. By how much the more, I vnworthy wretch of all others am bound to thy greatnesse ; for that yet at length, before all hope be past with me, thou hast giuen mee in part to know my selfe. That is to say, where I was, and whether thou hast now led me, and out of what darknesse. I see it now, thy selfe mercifully shewing it vnto me. Heretofore I haue not seene ; my owne will blinding me. Blessed Lord, since my conuersion vnto thee, I know my fault, and see the cause of it. *I haue thought my selfe conuerted vnto thee, before I was indeed.*

True conuersion is to turne to thee, and from sinne, and the same so to detest, as to desire any thing to suffer, then to commit againe. Secondly to haue a watchfull eye ouer our temptations, and euill motions. Thirdly to call to thee effe-



ually for grace, and strength. And fourthly in that strength not to doubt, but to resist them manfully as fast as they come. Wee practise commonly the contrary, and giue the bucklers to our enemies, as thinking our selues too weake for so many assaults; and so we be without thee. But in thee and in a perfect resolution to serue thee, and to renounce sinne; my Lord I finde mine enemies euery day weaker, and weaker, not in my owne strength, but thine in me.

I know thou canst not abide a coward, or that casteth difficulties in thy seruice; but if our hearty endeauours be with thee, thou suppliest with strength, and neuer suffereſt vs to take the foyle. Blessed Lord, thou hast let me see now, what hindered my sight before my conuersion; euen that which blindeth others, yea, multitudes, that are not yet conuerted vnto thee. That is to say, things seeming good and faire, that tended to perdition. And beeing no more gracious then others, I haue vsed my selfe-loue to command, and selfe-will to iudge so long, that I could not take their masterie from them without much rebellion; and haue beene therefore contented to thinke that good or ill, that my humor said was good or ill. And this by ill custome hath made a law in me so far forth, that I haue not only thought as they informed me, but also I haue verily beleeued whatsoeuer they suggested.

Which notwithstanding, it hath pleased thy goodnes, to shew me their tyrāny very palpably. And that first in others, whom I haue seene in wretched bondage vnto them, and to their owne appetites. Not but that my selfe was in the like, or greater; but because we spie a fault sooner in another, then in our selues, and they were a glasse to see my selfe in, how monstrously I haue blinded that light of reason ere now which thou hast giuen me, and I had almost lost, and became like a beast; vntill thy grace restored me, when it was a thousand to one against me.

My reason instructeth me, that no creature well ordered is gouerned by it selfe. The soule much lesse, among so many hidden enemies; since in heauen where is no enemy, no soule is guided by it selfe. My reason telleth me, that none is ouerthrown but by self-rule. And we confesse it in greater crimes,  
wilfull



*The First Homage.*

wilfull murther, incests, robbery, & the like; because they be more notably punished in sight. In lesse we cannot see it so well, because they are more qualified & mingled by the deuill, & il custome, that they may poison the more cunningly.

My reason, & experience teach me, that the deuill hath nothing to work vpon, but our will, & is a most subtile perswader. And therefore if I haue no more wil, or wit, but my own, it is impossible to stand against him. And very likely it is I am not as I should be, when I do nothing all the day long, but my own wil, nor am angry or melancholie at any thing, but my own will crossed some way or other; which perhaps was thy sending, and then I should be glad.

My reason instructed with reading; and hearing, hath taught me, that I cannot haue heauen heere, and in the world to come. And yet my shunning at griefs, and crosses, and againe my labouring, and laying for temporall emoluments, tell me to my face, that I haue sought nothing but my heauen heere, howsoeuer I haue looked vward in my prayers towards thee for a fashion.

My reason, and grace, how little soeuer it be, dareth not deny but thou art truth. And thou hast said, *The way to heauen is narrow, and fewe doe finde it.* And yet my life and actions doe make it seeme broade. Rather I am to suspect Mat. 7. 14. that I am out of the way, by the broadnesse of it: and am in my reason to doubt, and aske, that I may be set in my right way, and not to rest vntill I be in it. And it is hard to finde. First, because I neuer went it. Secondly, because I vse not to aske it. I aske not, because commonly I thinke not of it, hauing found by the way goodly meddowes, and fine earthly things, or at the least the desires of them; that haue holden me distracted, and busied one way or other, vntill I want day almost to goe any further.

Moreouer I cannot but listen, and beleeeue them, that haue trodden this path before me. The practise and authority of thy knowne Saints, that (being sometimes as I was when I doubted so little of my selfe, and as euery one is at this houre, that is not yet conuerted) confesse how maliciously, they were ouer borne by their own will, euen to per-



dition; and yet saw it not, no more then I did then; followed their owne likings as I did then; thought they did enough as I thought then, counted others ouer scrupulous as I did then, if they had much care of their conscience; and all this thy Saints haue found as soone as they cast off the yoke of their owne wils, and had giuen their names to thy holy seruice.

From which time being afterward thy speciall seruants, and I hearing, and reading their true opinions, what they thought of themselues, when they were as I was, and thought my selfe so sure: good God, what reason had I to thinke my selfe safe, and not rather to aske the way of some skilfull body, and forswear this closenesse to my selfe as long as I liued. Thy noble Doctor Saint *Augustine* sheweth me, that when I thought or perswaded my selfe that I went forward daily vnder the sailes of my own will, I went iust backward. For so saith this Doctor hee did, and yet thought verily that he went forward.

Med.

I trusted (saith hee) sometimes in my owne power, and  
„ when I meant so to runne, where I thought I should stand  
„ most, euen there I fell most, and was cast behind hand, and  
„ not forward; and that which I thought verily to catch,  
„ went further and further from me. But now I know thou  
„ hast illuminated mee. Because what I thought I could most,  
„ that could I alwaies least of my selfe. I had a will, but I wanted  
„ ability; I had ability, but I wanted will; because I  
„ trusted in my owne strength. But now I confesse vnto thee  
„ my Lord God, father of heauen and earth, that a man shall  
„ not growe strong in his owne strength; nor foolish presumption  
„ of any flesh vaunt it selfe before thee. And in another  
„ place, he saith: I thought I was somewhat, and I was  
„ nothing; I said I would become wise, and I became a fool; I  
„ thought I was wise, and I was deceiued. Thus farre and  
„ much more to that effect hath this Doctor.

How much more then may we say it, that liue abroad,  
and haue to doe with the world? where euery thing distracts  
vs from thee, euery toy dulleth vs, delights darken,  
cares oppresse, and much busines confoundes our vnderstanding



ding, and disableth it wholly of it selfe, to iudge what is best for vs without a Doctor.

And yet I cannot deny (my Lord) but true it is that shamefully and blasphemously we beare our selues in hand that we are ruled by thee, when yet wee haue nothing else in vs but a bundle of concupiscences, and desires, that tend not to thee, but daily pull from thee. As couetousnes, and pride, vncleane life, and ribauldry, hatred, and emulation, brawling, swearing, drunkenness, and epicurisme, and some worse then these; which the dooers of them do daily father vpon thy blessed will. Not by saying that those acts be thy will; but by saying, or thinking they doe thy will daily, when yet these bad fruites, and none but these growe vpon them more, and more, with little or no amending at all. Whom when I see notwithstanding to be holden wise, yea in all ages some such graced in the world for their naturall gifts, and fortune, which thou hast bestowed vpon them; what a mirrour is this, that thou hast giuen mee to see my selfe by, as I said in the beginning, and to fly selfe-gouerning as a mortall enemy.

Lastly, from my cradle in a manner thou hast taught mee how corrupt our nature is, how proane to euill, and apt to follow our selues, and our owne wayes. And hereupon we wish when we be young, that we were growne to be men; hoping then, that we shall rule our selues, and doe what we list. And when we haue our wish, and the bridle in our own hands, what haue we gotten? euen that which in our childhood, and weake iudgement, and before we had fully the vse of reason, we desired, and thought a very good thing; euen that our corrupt nature loueth, and imbraceth most, to rule our selues. Which my vnderstanding then must needes conclude. If so desired of children, of corrupt nature, of those that bee most weake, and imperfect; *ergo* childish; *ergo* an imperfect thing, and tending to corruption of body in bodily things, and of soule in soule busines. Againe, if so desired in childhood, and corrupt nature, *ergo* to be resisted and subdued in mans estate, and reasonable nature, as well as other childrens toyes, that we blush to vse



when we be men.

Which when I haue done the contrary; that is to say, maintained it and nourish't it in me, by seeking, and plotting my desires, though not in childish things, as children vse to doe, yet in other things answerable to my yeares, and estate, and haue shunned alwaies to be ruled or heare counsell to the contrary: I had iust cause therefore in my light of reason, to misdeeme and suspect my actions, both to be childish in the respect of the originall of them; and also wicked in respect of the discretion and other abilities, which thou gauest me to discerne it withall.

But now my Lord God, and king of eternall Maiestie, I know thou hast illuminated me (as thy seruant Saint *Augustine* saith) because I see, I can doe nothing of my selfe; which either I saw not before, or would not see. And although no sinner can at all times perfectly assure himselfe of thy fauour whilest hee liueth: yet some comforts or *tokens* as it were *earnest-pennies*, it pleaseth thee to bestowe vpon vs, whereby with humility wee may beleue and bee perswaded that wee bee in thy fauour, and assuredly hope, that we be conuerted vnto thee. And that by nothing more then by the alteration of our wils, and desires, which wee feelee, and finde by thy grace, ouer that wee did before our conuersion. And hee that hath not this feeling, and hath beene a sinner, can hardly thinke himselfe truely conuerted, no more then a sicke body can recouer, but he must feelee it, and can tell when he began to amend. And by this feeling and alteration that I finde in me, I hope I am conuerted vnto thee, and haue ioy, and comfort in it; not presuming in my owne merit, but humbling my selfe in thy greatnesse, that hast made mee partaker of so great a benefite.

And to thy onely glory, and my poore comfort, I often call to mind how it is with me now, and how heeretofore when I was all alike without alteration, and felt my selfe neither better nor worse at any time. And although selfe-loue in me hath made me been carelesse, as yesterday, and the day before, so this day, and the same this yeare, that  
I was



## *The First Homage.*

I was the yeare before, and many yeares before that, without finding any difference at all in mee, but that if I were well now, I was well then; if well then also now; and at this stay I kept many yeares together at an euen water, but indeede ebbing; and marked not that none can stand at a stay in thy seruice, but *qui non proficit, deficit*; and that shall euery one Leo. feele in themselves, if they flatter not themselves. All this while I say, I could not think my selfe truly conuerted vnto thee; because I could not remeber, or make estimate, when I began to alter from my wonted desires, or sinnefull estate.

I began not my conuersion with hearing of sermons onely, and little care to follow them; or with reading good bookes, and liking or commending them onely, which was but for a fashion. I began not with outward receiuing the *Sacrament*, which we were wont to doe at a certen age, and are worse and worse for it, if wee take not heede. I began not with inward security that all was well with me, because I felt no resistance in me. For this was indeede no true security, but a blindness, and punishment for sinne, bredde by custome; like those that liue in an ill ayre, and care not to goe out of it, because they are vsed to it.

All these were to me no arguments of my conuersion. But contrariwise, that I was all this while in the cloudes, and darknesse of selfe-conceit, and selfe-liking. It was my very great fault, and I confesse vnexcuseable; that beeing so well indued by thee, as I was, and so quicke of sight otherwise; I would be so grossely misledde by my enemy where he listed; vntill it pleased thee of thy infinite goodnesse to pull in my scattered thoughts, and madest me see his deceits that blinded me; gauest mee a heart to bee penitent and sorowfull, grace to bee thankfull, care to be watchfull, and courage to feare no blowes that I might receiue from any aduersity or prosperity in time to come.

*Hoc signum posuisti in nubibus*, This is the first signe or mark Gen. 9. which thou didst put in the clouds of my soule. Euer since I haue had a detestation of sinne more or lesse, and a desire to know my sinne. Since that time also I haue beene afraide to trust my owne iudgement againe in matters of my soule.



Eccl. 32.

Mee thinke I heard thee say to mee : *fili, sine consilio nihil facias* ; and, *peccator homo vitabit correptionem*, I know right well that custome in sinne maketh vs thinke wee sinne not, when we sinne. And therefore I haue doubted my selfe, and asked such as haue thy spirit, and know more in these matters then my selfe.

After this it hath pleased thee secondly to nourish my poore endeauours with gladnesse, much like to them that are lightened of a heauy burthen.

Thirdly, when of frailty I haue fallen againe at any time ; thy mercy towards mee hath not giuen mee ouer, but hath touched me inwardly with some heauines, and anger against my selfe, till by thy ordinary meanes I haue beene restored againe to good estate.

More then this, thou hast giuen me a fourth *token*, which is to examine my thoughts, wordes, and deedes many times in a weeke. Especially in those things I vse to offend in most ; that by often contrition, and sorrow for them, I may be the readier for thee, and not altogether vnprovided if thou shouldst call me any time vpon the suddaine.

For all which good *signes*, and *loue-tokens* of thy thine, I humbly thanke thee, and beseech thee to continue to my liues ende.

Amen.





# THE SECOND HOMAGE OF A SOVLE PROCEEDING IN GODS GRACE, with signes thereof.



My Lord God, by thy gifts we are illuminated, & carried vpward; by thy light and leading we goe higher and higher, & make ascents in our hearts, and sing vnto thee a *canticle of degrees, or song of parts*. Behold the degrees, or steps thou hast made in my soule. O that thou couldest beholde them in me, as thy gracious goodnes hath intended them to my vnderferuing selfe. Thou hast shewed me much, and I haue followed little. Thou hast inspired often, and I haue imbraced feldome. Thou hast proffered great things, and I haue not bin answerable. Thou hast often dropped on my marble heart, that it might be made hollow and capeable of thy hony dew, at the least wise in some small measure, and quantity.

Small, and very small it is indeed by my owne fault, as thou dost know, and my selfe bewaile; yet somewhat it is, whatsoever it is. In respect whereof I am to reioyce in it, being thy gift, and therefore good, although in lesse measure then thou hast meant it me, yet more a great deale without comparison, then I could euer deserue. I reioyce, and praise thee, because thou hast done great things vpon mee. All creatures praise thee in their creation, for which they be *Homagers* to thee of duty, and *Tributaries* of endlesse thanks. Men much more, and I aboue all, do praise thee, or ought to praise thee,



*The Second Homage.*

and I much more then numbers, doe owe vnto thee all that can be due by a subiect to his Prince, by a child to his parent, by a lost childe, or cast-away to a pittifull father, by a captiue, or gally-flaue to a mercifull redeemer, by a ruefull and vnhappie firebrand of hell, to a most sweete, and bountifull Sauour. Euen whatsoeuer a creature can possibly owe vnto his Creator, all that I doe owe vnto thy Maiesty.

If I should reckon the things that haue made me indebted to thy greatnesse, it would aske an infinite labour. For thy benefits haue no end, nor am I able to expresse the greatnesse of the least of them. Howbeit for so much as the commemoration of benefits receiued, is both a thankfullnesse to a benefactor, and a stirrer of duty, and deuotion in the receiuer; I cannot but often remember to thy glory, and my poore comfort, how I haue beene lost, and how thou hast found me; being found, I was slacke, and thou diddest put me forward; vsing first my selfe-loue to pricke mee inwardly with feare of eternall damnation; and after a while vsing my feare to fly sinne, and to seeke thee; by seeking thee to know thee, and by knowing thee to bee acquainted with thee in some sort; by acquaintance with thee to fall in loue with thee; and with loue of thee to contemne all but thee; first a litle, then more; euen according to my grace with thee, and my poore endeauours.

And these bee the *degrees*, or *staires* that a good will hath made in my soule. Feare first draue mee till I came at loue; and when loue had the mastery, it draue away feare. Feare frightened me for doing sinne; thy loue vrged me to loathing of sinne. For who seeth thee, and knoweth thee, that art truly brightnesse, and detesteth not sinne, that is true deformity, fowlenesse, and dishonour? Happy the feare that feareth to offend thee, but how much happier the loue that delighteth in pleasing thee? for both I humbly thank thee, and for continuing in both, I thanke thee more. Many haue both for a time, and are at losse againe at an other time; rising and falling with the tide of their passions, and faring like those that hazzard all vpon the vncertaine dice, and haue mony in  
their



their purses at one time, and none at an other.

With mee likewise it hath beene so ere now. But now I hope in thy grace not so. Yea, though my frailties, and many imperfections doe daily humble me in my owne eyes; yet thy grace makes mee bold to say, that thy feare, and loue hath now gotten some strength, and taken roote in me. The which thou hast shewne vnto mee, as to other thy seruants, by some *signes*, and *tokens*, that thou giuest vs, to encourage vs the more in thy seruice. And these are daily amendment, or care of amendment, and all those graces, & strength, that follow thereof. Which are ioy and quiet of mind in thy seruice; obeying thee without repining, losse without grudging, hauing chaste thoughts without corruption, patience without murmuring, humility without affecting, feare without scruple or dispaire, truth without doublenesse, and such like.

But in particular I haue noted these things following, which I account not onely *signes*, but also exceeding great benefits of thine. And which it behooueth euery soule that hath them, as well to be mindfull of, to be thankfull; as of his sinnes, to be penitent, and sorrowfull for them.

The first and greatest is, a great good liking I haue to be rather subiect, and vnder in a meane sort, if it pleased thee so, then to be ouer others in the best sort that can be in the world. Knowing well my owne exceeding weakenes, and insufficiencie to gouerne others, that haue spoyled my selfe well-neere with gouerning but one: and also seeing that gouernment hath alwayes multiplicity of busines, & busines Eccli. 28. cannot be without many negligēces, which (vnles thy grace be maruellous great) doe turne thy face from vs daily more and more, and put vs quite from our byas to heauen-ward.

An other benefite it hath pleased thee to bestow on mee, which is a desire, and loue I haue to bee alwaies reading, or hearing talke of thee, either in sermons, or otherwise, if my spare time and vocation doe permit me; which if it doe not, it contents me yet to thinke of thee often. And this thy benefite hath in mee also two more with it, which I should not misse for any thing.



The first is, that I regard not the stile, or eloquence of one, or other, but the sence, and spirit of the writer, or preacher; thinking it euer an argument of great imperfection in me, to heare him for the stile, or tongue, and to bee left to nouices rather, that know not yet what thy seruice meaneth; or rather to *Indians* and *Ethiopians* that are drawne to know thee first with trifling things, as rings, bels, & looking-glasses, that pleased them, and made them first to loue thy seruants, and by little and little to listen to them, and afterward to beleue them, and to acknowledge thy truth. Neither doe thy seruants, and preachers (though greatly, and diuersly indued by thee with nature, and art) vse to affect eloquence in their preaching. Or if they doe, it is but to serue our vicious, and curious eares, that will not be drawne to thee without many words, and deuices, and much perswasion. All messengers are alike to me, that come with tydings from thee: let them stut or speake plaine, all is one to mee, so they tell mee true. My loue doth easily supply all defects that may be.

The second is, that when I heare a vertue commended; I thinke not streight, that I come neere the perfection of it. Or when I heare a vice, or notorious sinne inueighed against; thy mercy is such towards me, that I thinke not streight of such, or such a one to be touched, but onely my selfe, either in act, or will, if thy grace had not letted me; or else I am mooued therby to compunction for my former life past, or for others in generall, that are yet intangled in the same sinne.

It is also another great benefit of thine, that of thy goodness thou puttest me often in mind of my owne weaknes for perseuerance, or constancy in resisting sinne, or temptation, as of my selfe, but only by thee. And to that end I often pray to thee still for more grace, and further supply of thy gentleness towards me. And in receiuing any grace of thee, I am alwaies humbled by it in respect of thy free bounty & liberality and my owne vnworthines, that can no waies deserue it.

O my Saviour I cannot think of these thy benefits so great, without blushing; that euer thou shouldest bestow them so freely vpon so poore a worme of the earth, & so vngratefull a creature, as I haue beene, and am. And yet not heere an end



## The Second Homage.

of thy benefits. Which the further I wade into, the further (me thinke) I am from an end. Yet two or three more (with thy leaue) I cannot but speake of, because they are comforts also, and *tokens* to me, that I am in thy grace. Grant I beseech thee, that I may be thankfull.

I haue beene soon angry ere now, and long in pleasing. And that either through strength of my passion, and little heede how thou frownedst vpon me all the while; or els for that I thought it vnworthy of a high mind to be soone pleased without much mediation first. And so (as the deuil would haue it) I haue made two or three sinnes of one. But now through thy grace most chiefly, and my owne endeauiour, and watch (which is also thy grace) I haue in a manner killed the heart of this infirmity; and doe prepare my selfe against it at the first encounter, when occasion is. If I happen to be disgraced, disdained, or flouted, none of these (I thanke thee) disturbe me within; or if they doe, thy grace is with me by and by, to amend my selfe by it in somewhat, or to pittie them that wrong me without cause, or thinke it sent me for my tryall, or mortification.

I find that the Philosophers had these vertues also; but I perceiue it was for pride much-what, & praise of men. And they thought it a high degree of vertue, if they had done a fault to goe into the market place, and publish it there, and to lay themselues open to euery mans reprehension. But this to do, as it may be scandalous, so I see it not practised by any of thy seruants. And yet if it be done, *magistro, et fratri*, (as *S. Hierome* saith) I holde it not good to conceale any thing eyther done, or intended. I seeke not praise of men, but simply to please thee. And I can take a reprehension in good part, though told me in the worst manner.

The Philosophers haue another opinion, that hee that profites in vertue, shall neuer dreame they doe ill, no more then a beast (they say) will goe out of the way he is vsed to, although he be turned loose, and the reines on his necke. But this I know by thy grace is no certaine *signe*. For the enemy when he cannot fasten on vs waking, will delude vs sleeping, yea and make vs belecue we sinned when wee did not, if wee



gaue no prouocation to it waking, which we must labour to auoide.

In all my contracts, bargaines, & promises, I am very scrupulous of my words, that they prooue true. And I vse to aske much counsell, if there be any likelihood of iniustice. I thanke thy goodnes for it; I haue as much care of this, as I haue of the title I deale withall; especially towards my inferiours.

One common infirmity I am carefull to preuent. And that is ingratitude, a churlish and vnmannerly sinne; that raignes both in court and countrey. I had rather lye fast for debt, then be ingrate. It is worth a mans study to satisfie where one is beholding; and rather to my inferiours, and equals, then to my betters, though necessary to both.

One miserable gulfe I haue escaped by thy grace, which I beseech thee of thy goodnesse to continue to my liues ende. And that is *aptnesse to take scandall*. Hee is halfe way in hell, that will be soone scandalized. All the world is full of *scandals*. It is called *scandalum pusillorum*, Scandall of the weake. If I see a Saint do naught, yet by thy grace I will not do naught; but looke to my selfe the better for it. No abuse of religion shall weaken my faith. The thing abused I like neuer the worse for the abuse, but the better. Being the diuels doing, to raise scandall on that which is good, to take that which is good away. If Church-men excommunicate for money, and absolue for money, and take more of a rich man, then of a poore; is the Church of lesse authority for their abuse? I cannot thinke with my selfe, what corruption can scandalize me. And this is thy grace, with many others daily growing on me. And which thou knowest. I speak not to my praise, but to thine, that art the giuer. Thou giuest both *velle*, & *perficere*. I endeauour, though but weakely sometimes; performe it thou, for thy mercies sake, and make me still stronger and stronger. Amen.





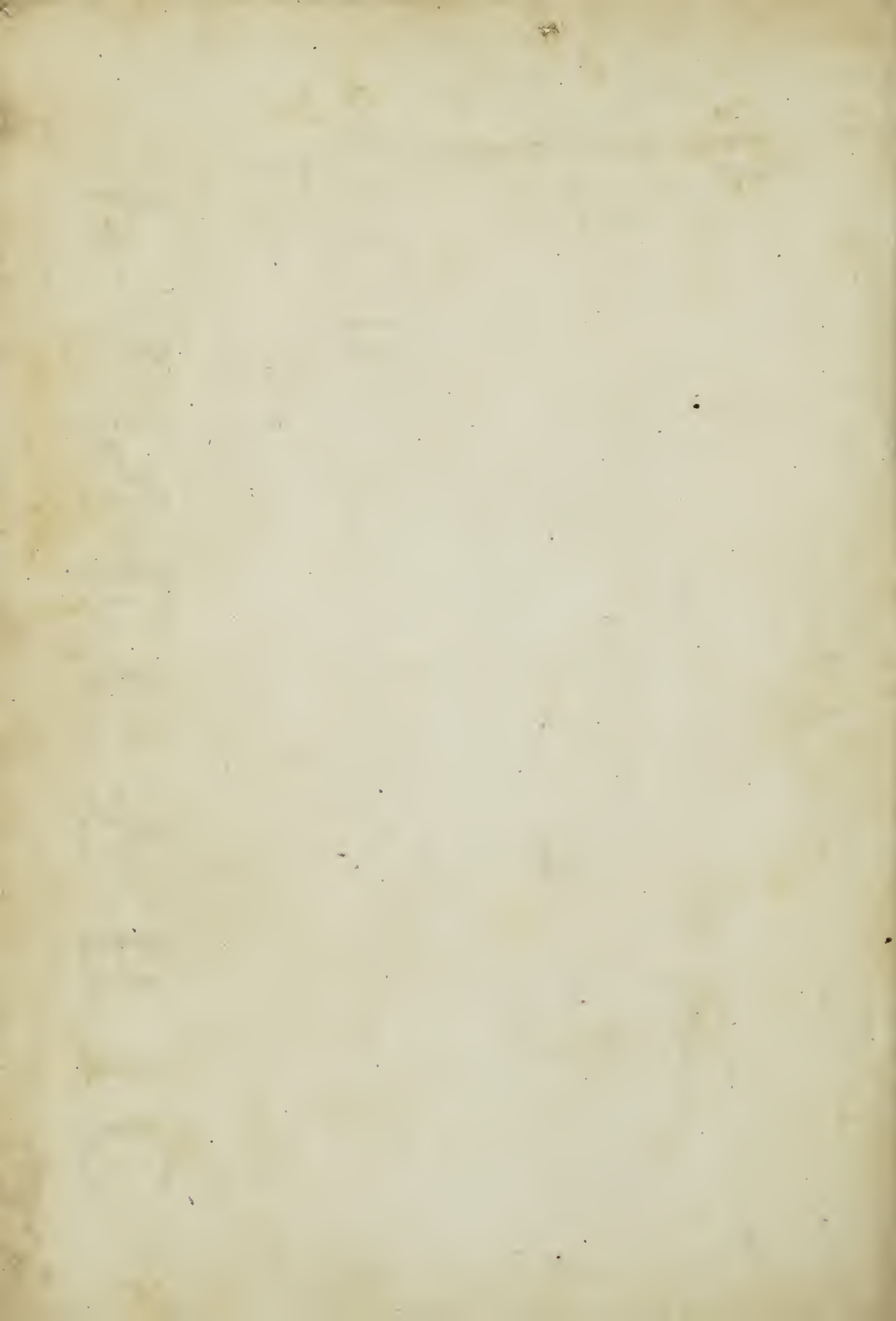


















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